

AN IMPARTIAL
ACCOUNT
OF
King James II's BEHAVIOUR
TO HIS
PROTESTANT SUBJECTS
OF
IRELAND,

During His Residence in that KINGDOM,

PLAINLY SHEWING,

That no Confidence is to be repos'd in
a *Roman Catholick* Prince, by a *Protestant*
People,

By His GRACE,
WILLIAM, Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*.

L O N D O N :

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 OF
 IRELAND.

During His Residence in that Kingdom

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PICTURED BY SHAWING

That no Complaint is to be received in
 a Roman Catholic Parish, & a Protestant
 People.

BY WILLIAM
 Bishop of Down



LONDON:

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KING *JAMES the Second's*
 BEHAVIOUR TO HIS
 PROTESTANT SUBJECTS
 IN
 IRELAND.

IT is easy to demonstrate, that every *Roman Catholic* King, if he thoroughly understand his Religion, and do in earnest believe the Principles of it, is obliged, if he be able, to destroy his *Protestant* Subjects; and that nothing can excuse him from doing it but want of Power. This is plain, from the third Chapter of the fourth *Lateran* Council, and from the Council of *Constance*, in the Bull that confirms it. If, therefore, a *Popish* King can persuade his *Protestant* Subjects to submit to him whilst he doth it, he is obliged by his Principles to destroy them, even when they are the greater Part and Body of his Subjects. Now King *James II.* was, as is known to all the World, a most zealous *Roman Catholic*, and engaged with that Party of them, that most zealously assert and practise this Doctrine of rooting out *Heretics*. He gave himself up entirely to the Conduct and Guidance of *Jesuits*; these were the Governors and Directors of his Conscience, and he seemed to have no other Sentiments, than such as they inspired into him.

It is observable, that King *James* was more than ordinarily liberal in his Promises and De-

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clarations

clarations of favour towards *Protestants*. He boasted in a Declaration sent to *England*; and dispersed by his Friends there, dated *May 8, 1689*, at *Dublin*, 'That his *Protestant* Subjects, 'their Religion, Privileges and Properties were 'his especial Care since he came into *Ireland*.' He often professed, 'That he made no Distinction between them and *Roman Catholics*,' and both he here, and his Party there, did much extol his kind Dealings with his *Protestants* in *Ireland*. What those Dealings truly were I shall have Occasion to shew: The Representation of them made in *England* by him and his Party was no less false, than his Promises were unsincere, it being plain he had a Reserve in them all. It is a Maxim (as I take it) in Law, That if the King be deceived in his Grant, tho' it pass the Great Seal, yet it is void: Much more must all his verbal Promises be void, if he be deceived in them. Now if we consider, who were the Directors of the King's Conscience, we ought not to wonder that he made no great Scruple to evade them. Dr. *Cartwright*, one of his Instruments, gives us a right Notion of King *James's* Promises in his Sermon at *Rippon*, where in effect he tells us, 'That the 'King's Promises are Donatives, and ought not 'to be too strictly examined or urged, and that 'we must leave his Majesty to explain his own 'Meaning in them:.' This Gloss pleased King *James* so well, that he rewarded the Author with the Bishopric of *Chester*, though very unfit for that Character; and shewed in all his Actions, that he meant to proceed accordingly: And the Humour run through the whole Party; whenever they were at a Pinch, and under a Necessity of serving themselves, by the Assistance

tance or Credulity of *Protestants*, they promised them fair, and stuck at no Terms with them; but when their Turn was served, they would not allow us to mention their Promise, much less to challenge the Performance.

It plainly appeared, that it was not in King *James's* Power, if he had been disposed himself, to perform his Promises to us. The Priests told us, ' That they would have our Churches ' and our Tithes, and that the King had nothing ' to do with them; and they were as good as their ' Words; nor could his Majesty upon Trial hinder them.' One Mr. *Moore* preached before the King in *Christ-Church*, in the Beginning of the Year 1690, his Sermon gave great Offence: He told his Majesty, ' That he did not do Justice to the Church and Churchmen;' and amongst other Things said, ' That Kings ought ' to consult Clergymen in their Temporal Affairs, ' the Clergy having a Temporal as well as a ' Spiritual Right in the Kingdom; but Kings ' had nothing to do with the managing of Spiritual Affairs, but were to obey the Orders ' of the Church.' It is true, King *James* highly resented this, and the Preacher was banished, or voluntarily withdrew from Court; but in this he spake the general Sense of the Clergy, indeed of the *Roman Church*, to which the King had given himself up, and must be forced to submit to it at last. The King's Promises therefore, or his Laws, could signify nothing towards the securing us, except he could get the *Roman Church* to join in them, and become a Party to them: For whilst the Governors of that Church challenge the whole Management of Spiritual Things, and King *James* owned their Power so far, that he consented to

abolish the Oath of Supremacy that denies it, for him to promise Safety and Liberty to *Heretics*, and make Laws about the Worship of God, and Liberty of Conscience, is clearly, according to their Doctrine, to give away what is not his own, and dispose the Rights of another, without consulting the Party interested, and, according to all Casuists, such Promises are void; they that speak most favourably of the Council of *Constance*, which is supposed to determine, that no Faith is to be kept with *Heretics*, make this Apology for the Council. The Emperor *Sigismund* granted, without consulting the Council, a Safe Conduct to *Jerome* of *Prague*; the Council condemned him for Heresy, and ordered him to be burnt: The Emperor interposed to justify his safe Conduct; but the Council answered, ' That he was not obliged to make it good to the *Heretic*, because it was not in the Emperor, to grant a safe Conduct to secure a Man against the Justice of the Council, without consulting it: ' This is the most favourable Representation I have met with of this Matter; and even thus it is a sufficient Caution for all *Protestants*, not to trust Kings or Princes of the *Roman* Communion, in Matters that relate to the Church or Religion, without the express Consent of that Church or Religion; if they do, it is at their own Peril, and they cannot blame those Princes when they fail in their Promises, for they had sufficient Warning not to trust them, since they engage for a Thing, that, according to their own Confession, is not in their Power, but is avowedly the Right of another.

The second Argument whence it appears, that the King designed utterly to destroy and ruin his *Protestant* Subjects in *Ireland*, is from the

the Oaths, Professions, and Affirmations of those who were his Confidants and Instruments, used by him to bring it to pass. From the very Beginning of the *French* Persecution, the *Papists* in *Ireland* began to shew their Fondness of that Monarch: And as their Love to him commenced with that Persecution; so it increased in Proportion to his Barbarity; and they could never speak of it without Passion and Transport. But after King *James* came to the Crown, they openly declared, 'that they liked no Government but that of *France*: That they would make the King as absolute here, as that King there;' they affirmed both publickly and privately, with many Oaths, 'That they would in a short Time have our Estates and Churches; that, if they suffered us to live, they would make us *Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water*: That *Ireland* must be a *Catholic* Country, whatever it cost; and as for the *English*, they would make them as poor *Devils*, as when they came first into *Ireland*:' And they assured us, 'That this was no rash Surmise of their own, but that it was premeditated and resolved, and that we should quickly find it by the Effects;' of which they were so confident, (though we could not believe them) that some of the most serious among them advised their *Protestants* in private, with all Earnestness, to change their Religion: 'For (said they) you will be forced to do it at length, and if you delay but a little Time, it will be too late, and perhaps you may not be accepted; for no *Protestant* must expect to enjoy any Thing in this Kingdom; and we resolve to reduce all Things to the State they were in under *Henry VIIth*, before *Poning's* Act.'

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In Answer to this we told them, That the Laws were on our Side, and the King had promised to govern according to Law, and to protect our Church and Liberties; but they laughed at our Credulity, pished at the Laws as meer Trifles, and unanimously declared, that the King's Promises, to maintain the Government in Church and State, were intended only for *England*, and were not meant to reach us; and withal intimated, that the same would be done in *England*, though not so soon: For the Truth of all which I may refer myself to the remaining Testimonies of the *Protestants* then in *Ireland*, there being few but were Witneses of such Discourses: And, the King's Conduct towards us was such, as left no room for us to doubt but that these People knew his Mind, and that all his Promises and Declarations in our Favour were perfectly copied from the *French King's* Declarations, to preserve the Edict of *Nantz*, and as of little Sincerity; and that, notwithstanding these, he had as fully determined our Ruin, as that King had resolved the Voiding the Edict of *Nantz*, when he made his solemn Declarations to the contrary.

This destructive Design appears in the third Place, from the Persons he employed in all Offices of Trust or Power. It is well known to the World, that in the Year 1641, there was a most bloody Massacre committed in that Kingdom on the *Protestants*, by their Neighbours the *Papists*, in which some hundred thousands perished; and that not one *Protestant*, whom they spared, escaped without being robbed and plundered of all he had, if not stripped and turned out naked, to the Extremities of Cold and a desolate Country: And to such a Degree of Madnes they proceeded, that they de-

destroyed the Houses, Buildings, Churches, and Improvements of the Kingdom, out of their Malice and Inveteracy to the *Protestants*, the Founders of them : But these *Barbarians* at last were by the *Protestants* subdued, and brought to submit to Mercy. After which Conquest, the Conquerors, in the Year 1660, joined (indeed, were more forward than the People of *England*) in bringing home K. *Charles II.* and generously gave up themselves, together with the Kingdom of *Ireland*, without Articles or Conditions, into his Hands. The King in Recompence of so signal a Service, and to reprove the Conquerors for their Blood, Treasure, and Losses, gave them back a Part of what they had given him ; but withal restored the Conquered, under certain Qualifications, to another Part of the forfeited Lands ; who, though restored by the King's meer Bounty, yet retained in them the same Principles of *Papery* that at first stirred them up to Rebellion, and to massacre their fellow Subjects : And having besides this their old Hatred to the *English* new edged and heated, by seeing the Conquerors possessed of the Estates, which they themselves by their Rebellion and Cruelty had lost, they from time to time let us see their Hopes and Wishes of Revenge ; to which the Favour they found at the *English* Court, under the Shelter of the Queen Mother, and the Prospect of the Duke of *York's* coming to the Crown, gave Foundation and Encouragement. Neither could they hide their Resentments so, as to prevent a just Fear and Jealousy of them in the *Protestants*, who had so lately, and in so signal a Manner, suffered by them in all their dearest Interests : Yet these were the Persons whom K. *James* chose for his Mini-

Ministers and Officers, with whom he resolved to trust the Employments, the strong Holds, the Arms and Justice of the Nation ; a Thing so extravagant, that we challenge any one to shew a parallel Case in any History. No body would ever have taken the Arms and Courts of Justice out of the Conquerors Hands, and put them into the Hands of the Conquered, exasperated by the Loss of their Honours, Liberties, and Estates, except he had a mind they should revenge themselves, and recover all that they had lost before ; and they had been manifestly wanting to their own Interest, if they had slipped this Opportunity. If they hated us so much in 1641, that, without Provocation, and whilst in Possession of their Estates, they rose as one Man, and attempted to destroy us ; if they were so set on it, that they ventured to do it without Arms, Discipline, or Authority on their Side, and where the Hazard was so great, that it was ten to one if they succeeded ; what could we expect they should do now, when provoked to the Height, by the Loss of their Estates, when armed, disciplined, and entrusted with all the Places of Strength, Power, and Profit in the Kingdom ? This alone is a Demonstration, that the King, who thus put us in the Power of our inveterate and exasperated Enemies, either was extremely mistaken in his Measures, or designed our Destruction : I am sure we must have been destroyed, if God had not prevented it almost by a Miracle.

It is a Maxim in our Law, that the King can do no wrong ; because he executeth nothing in his own Person, but has Officers appointed by Law to execute his Commands, who are obliged not to obey him, if he command any Thing

Thing that is illegal : If any Officer obey him in such unlawful Commands, it is at his own Peril, and he is accountable for it ; the King's Command being no Excuse or Protection to any Man, for his doing an illegal Thing. Whilst therefore the King employs only Persons amenable to the Laws, that have a Value for their Honour, for the Liberty of their Country, and the Public Good ; and have Estates answerable, for what Wrong they do the Subjects in executing their Offices, there is no great Danger of his doing much Harm to his People, tho' his Intentions were ever so mischievous against them ; it being the great Security of the Subjects, and Restraint on the Officers of the King, that they cannot do any Wrong, but the injured Person has his Remedy against them by Law.

This, I remember, is all the human Security, Dr. *Hicks* in his *Jovian* allows us, to preserve our Liberties, &c. against a tyrannous King. And he supposes it so effectual a Bar to all Attempts of this Nature, that he pronounces it impossible for our King to turn Tyrant. But the Event has sufficiently confuted his Surmise, and shewn not only the Possibility, but the actual Performance of what he supposes impossible : For *K. James* made it his Business to find out, and actually pitched on a Set of Officers and Instruments, ' That (as he ' expressees it in one of his Declarations) would obey ' him without Reserve : Against whom the Current of ' the Law was stopped, and who were in no Condition to make amends for the Mischiefs they did : ' All which will appear, if I make out, that they were Men of little or no Fortunes, unable and insufficient to discharge the Offices committed to their Trust. That many of them were Men of such loose Principles and Morals, that they could not be supposed to stick at any Wickedness which was for their Interest. That their Inclination and Genius led them to destroy the Laws, Liberty, and Religion of the Kingdom. That most of them were unqualified by Law, for the Offices into which they were placed ; and therefore could

not be supposed to study the Preservation of those Laws, in Defiance of which they acted. Now, if it appears, that these were the Qualifications of most of K. *James's* Officers and Instruments in *Ireland*, I suppose it will be a further Demonstration of his Intentions, and of what we were to expect from him.

I suppose the true Reason, why one Man is allowed to possess a greater Estate in a Commonwealth than another, and to maintain himself by the Labour of other People, is, that he may be at leisure to attend the public Business of his Country ; and that, having such a considerable Stock in the common Bottom, he may be the more careful to preserve it from sinking. Out of such Men therefore, of Fortune and Interest, every wise and well-designing King will supply himself with Officers. For their Interest will help to support him, and will procure by his Commands, Obedience ; and their Fortunes will secure the Subjects from being injured by them ; their Estates being Pawns to the Public, for their good Behaviour, and Reprizals to those they have injured. But for this very Reason K. *James* generally employed Men of little or no Fortunes, and very often the Scum and Rascality of the World. This made him so fond of the *Irish*, who had lost their Estates, who depended wholly on him ; and had no other Possibility of subsisting, but by espousing his Interest, and serving him without Reserve. I cannot blame them for being ready to embrace the Offer ; but it was certainly very impolitically done, or an Indication of an ill Design in him to employ and espouse Men of such ruined and broken Fortunes.

The Sheriffs and Deputy-Lieutenants of Counties were generally poor and mean People : Many of them had been Servants in the meanest Condition to *Protestants* ; who, if they injured any Body in their Employments, had not Substance enough to answer the Charges of a Suit, much less the Damages expected by way of Reparation.

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After the Earl of *Tyrconnel* had named his Sheriffs of this Stamp for the Year 1687, it will hardly be found that any *Protestant* recovered any Debt by Execution. The main Reason of this was the Poverty of the Sheriffs, which made Men unwilling to trust the Execution of a Bond for twenty Pounds in their Hands, they being not responsible even for such a small Sum, as too many found to their Cost. The Mayors and others Magistrates, in their new modelled Corporations, were generally of the same Sort. In *Dublin* they could not pick up Men enough that had the Face to appear as Burgeses; and some of those that they named had not Money to buy themselves Gowns. I think their Number was never compleat. It was yet worse in the Country Corporations; in many Places they were not able to pay the Attorney-General's Fees, which stopped their new Charters, till the calling a Parliament necessitated him to pass them *gratis*. And as to the inferior Officers of the Army, such as Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns, some hundreds of them had been Cowherds, Horse-boys, or Footmen, and perhaps these were none of their worst Men; for, by reason of their Education amongst *Protestants*, they had seen and understood more than those who had lived wild on the Mountains.

It is observable, that the Men of clear Estates, who followed K. *James* from *England* through *France*, as they were but very few, so they had but little Interest with him; of which Duke *Powis* was one Instance, and Lord *Dover* another. Duke *Powis* made the *Protestants* believe, and perhaps he was sincere in it, that he was much against the Proceedings of the pretended Parliament; and used his Interest with the King to put a Stop to them, but was not able to do it: Lord *Dover* was actually dismissed from all his Employments, and ready to leave the Kingdom, some Time before the Alteration happened by the Victory at the *Boyne*. Now K. *James's* Aversion to employ or trust Men of Estates and Fortunes, and the Reason of his Fondness to such Creatures as had no Being but what he gave them,

was obvious enough to us that felt it; and they themselves did not deny it; nay, boasted of it as a great Instance of his Wisdom. He knew these could never thrive, but by making him absolute; that they would never demur at any Command, or enquire for any other Law than his Will; that they were out of all fear of being questioned afterwards, or of having their Estates forfeited, or Families beggared; all which are great Restraints on Men of Estates and Honour.

And surely, there cannot be a fuller Demonstration of a Prince's Design to lay aside the Laws, and to rule by Force without Controul, than his putting out Men of Substance, and employing Men of broken and desperate Fortunes in Places of Trust and Honour; who, having nothing else to depend upon but the Prince's Pleasure, must be also Slaves to it, and yield a blind Obedience to all that is given them in Commission. This is the Misery of a People, when Servants rule over them: And this was the Reason King *James* employed rather such than others. And it was impossible the Grand Signior should have fitted himself better with Instruments, for promoting an arbitrary Government, than he did.

The Poverty and Meanness of the Men was not their worst Fault. It is possible, that a poor Man may be both honest, and able for the greatest Trust. But the Officers employed by King *James* were such, that, tho' they had been very honest, and willing to do Justice, they yet must have done much Mischief by their Unskilfulness, and Insufficiency for the Offices with which he intrusted them. It was both King *James's* Misfortune and his Subjects, that he employed very few of sober Sense and Experience about him; whether it was, that he could not get Men of Sense to go through with him, in all Things that he would have done; or whether it proceeded from the Servility observable in dull People, whereby they flatter and gain on Princes. Or lastly, from a Humour incident to great Men, which makes them unwilling to have Ser-

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vants able to pry into their Designs. But, however it was, it was remarkable in King *James*, that dull, heavy Men kept his Favour longer and more steddily, than Men of Sense and Parts; and he generally chose out the most unfit and most incapable for Preferments. It is plain, that even in *England* he designed the Army should be supplied with *Irish*; and this Project went farther than the Army, he was filling the Boroughs and Corporations with them also; and no body knew where the Humour would have stopped. Now if there had been nothing else, their being kept out of all Employments and Trusts by the Laws, for many Years past, must have incapacitated them (and all *Roman Catholics*) for managing the Affairs of the Kingdom to Advantage; they neither had fit Education, nor had they applied their Minds to the Management of such Affairs: They were absolute Strangers to every Thing that concerned the Public; and then no wonder, that they went awkwardly and untowardly about Business. How was it conceiveable, that they should escape signal and mischievous Errors, in the Discharge of Offices to which they had never been bred up, and of which they never thought till they were put to manage them: And yet this they were constrained to do, without the Aid or Assistance of any to help them, and that under the most difficult Circumstances; for the former Officers looked on their Offices as their Freeholds, and conceived a great Resentment against such as had turned them out of them against Law and Justice; and therefore left them as intricate, and their Successors as little Information as they could; who, according to the Nature of ignorant Men, were too proud to ask Assistance from the others, if those had been willing to afford them Instruction.

It is not imaginable how many Inconveniencies happened on this Account; nothing was done by any Rule or Method: The Subjects were every Day oppressed, and the Officers made themselves ridiculous, by their Blunders and Mistakes; every body was petition-
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ing by reason of these Grievances, and no body knew how to redress them. None of the new Officers understood his own Business, or how to distinguish his Province from another Man's. The knavish Part of Offices, in putting Tricks on People, and getting Money, were all the Study of the new employed Gentlemen. The real and substantial Parts of the Offices, for which they were instituted and designed, were little known, and less minded; nor could it be expected to be otherwise. Could any imagine, for Example, that Chancellor *Fitton*, that had lain in Prison many Years, not appeared in any Court, a Stranger to the Kingdom, to the Laws, and to the Practice and Rules of Court, and withal a Man of a heavy and slow Understanding, should on a sudden be able to dispatch the Business of the highest Court in the Kingdom, and penetrate into the most intricate Causes, which are commonly determined in that Court? He was so far from this, that he was forced to make many needless References to the Masters, in Causes that had no Difficulty in them. This was the general Way of his dispatching Causes. And then what Report could be expected from Mr. *Stafford*, one of these Masters, a *Popish* Priest, noted and exposed by his own Party for want of Sense; and who perhaps had never been within the Courts, till he sat down as one of the Masters of Chancery; or from the other Masters, who were yet more ignorant and unexperienced (if possible) than he?

If we take a View of the Country, we shall find their Case rather worse. One that a few Days before was no other than a Cowherd to his *Protestant* Landlord, perhaps was set before him on the Bench as a Justice of the Peace; and preferred to command as Captain in the Field, or a Deputy-Lieutenant in the County: I am assured, that some were thus preferred, without passing through any immediate Steps, to prepare or fit themselves for the better Discharge of those Places. The Consequence of which is easy to be imagined: Every

Every one, that is acquainted with Business and Dispatch, knows what a Torment it is to have to do with raw and unexperienced Offices, who must be taught by him, that comes to have his Business done, how they should go about it; and, which is often hardest to do, he must convince them that they are mistaken, or do not understand their own Offices, which such Men are most unwillingly brought to own; and yet no Business can be rightly done, till they are convinced of it. This was the Condition of all the Offices in *Ireland*, from the King's Privy-Council and Secretaries of State, to the High Constables; which, without any other Defect, must and did bring many Inconveniences to the Kingdom.

But after all, if none but Men of ordinary Parts, and tolerable natural Sagacity had been employed, though unexperienced and uneducated, Time might have taught them, and made them at least tolerable, if not dexterous at their Business: But the generality of those who were preferred had such weak Understandings, and unimproveable Capacities, that they who were superseded by them could not reflect on it without the greatest Indignation, to see Men, not much removed from Ideots, put into their Places and Offices, which they had bought with their Money, and had taken considerable Pains, and spent a good part of their Lives to qualify themselves to execute; whereas those that succeeded them had nothing of Improvement or Education, and withal were so proud, lazy, and dull, that they neither would, nor could make themselves better by Application or Industry, who had nothing to recommend them to the King, but that they were *Papists*, and such as he believed would never scruple any Command how illegal or absurd, so it tended to weaken or destroy *Protestants*, which was the sole Qualification that recommended them.

The Instruments King *James* used to carry on his Design were not only very poor and insufficient for their Places, but they were likewise Men fit to be employed

ployed in ill Designs ; and it is hardly credible, how rare it was to find amongst them a Man that had ordinary moral Honesty. It is true, they seemed to make Conscience of hearing Masses, and not eating Flesh on *Fridays*, but hardly of any thing else. To have been always reckoned a Knave was no Exception or Bar to any Man's Preferment amongst them : They declared, they must make use of such. Those that were infamous whilst the Government was in the Hands of *Protestants*, for Forgeries, Perjuries, Robberies, and Burglaries, were all indifferently employed by them. That some such should be admitted into the Army is not so much to be wondered at ; but that honest Gentlemen should be turned out to make room for them was intolerable ; and yet here not only the Army, but even the Courts of Justice were filled with such. One of the new Examinators of the Chancery was formerly detected of a Forgery. Several of their Burgeesses, nay, Sheriffs, were notorious Thieves, and some burnt in the Hand. The Speech of one of their new Justices of the Peace gave some Diversion ; it was one Mr. *Stafford*, for whom the Master of Chancery, his Son, had procured a Commission of the Peace : It was soon after the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came over Governor ; and it fell to the new Justice's Turn to give the Charge at the Quarter Sessions ; in which he set forth, as well as he could, the Happiness of the Kingdom under the new Government ; ' Amongst other Conveniences ' that we reap by it, said he, it has rid us of *Tories* ; ' for all those are taken into the King's Army.' And the Truth was, many of these that had been indicted, outlawed, nay, condemned, got Commissions. The famous *Tories*, the *Brannans*, who had been guilty not only of Burglary and Robbery, but of Murder also, who were under Sentence of Death, and had escaped it by breaking Goal, were made, amongst the rest, Officers : And the Earl of *Tyrconnel* seemed to bear a peculiar Favour to these *Tories*, and a Spite to such as had been diligent to suppress them.

them. There was a famous *Tory* in *Munster*, one *Power*, who did abundance of Mischief, and disturbed the whole Country: Mr. *Fitz-Simons*, a Gentleman of the Army, had rid the Country of him; by which Piece of Service he deserved very well; but, instead of being rewarded, he was one of the first *Protestant* Officers that was cashiered. There was another notable *Tory*, one *Flemming*, that was very troublesome and mischievous in *Leinster*, some Troopers by their Diligence surpris'd him, and cut him off: It was observed, that the Earl called out those Troopers first, and cashiered them, some considerable Time before he turned out the rest of the Troop; which every body interpreted to be a Mark of his Displeasure for that Service. I have heard it observed, that there were at least twenty noted *Tories*, Officers in one Regiment, and very few Regiments were without some.

There was another sort of People had mighty Favour with them, I mean Converts to their Religion. A Man may, I confess, upon just Motives, or such as seem just to him, change his Opinion and Religion, and cannot justly be condemned of Dishonesty for so doing; but he is certainly a very dishonest Man that dissembles or alters his Opinion, without any other visible Motive besides Gain or Preferment. Now this was the Case of many of their Officers. Several of the Children of the *Papists* of the Kingdom had formerly been taken up, and bred by *Protestants*, some in one Station and some in another; they commonly were taught to read and write, and many of them by the Kindness of their Masters were preferred; some became Counsellors at Law, some Attorneys, some Clerks; others continued menial Servants and Footmen. Upon the Change of Affairs, most of these began to despise their Benefactors or Masters, and to count themselves better than those who had educated and taught them; and in order to get Preferments altered their Religion, in which their Masters, with much Care, had instructed them; and

declared, that in their Hearts they had been all along *Roman Catholics*. Above one hundred Footmen, on these Declarations, were advanced to be Captains. Whereas their living so long in the Profession of the *Protestant* Religion, if they did not believe it, was to all honest Men an Argument of so great Hypocrisy, that the Person guilty of it (one would think) should not have been trusted by any that valued either Truth or Honesty; but if this Declaration was only feigned, as I am apt to believe it was in many, then their Conversion was an Effect of Covetousness, or Ambition, and an Act of Hypocrisy to be abhorred by all good Men. However, to persuade the World that they were real, they were very severe and mischievous to *Protestants* in general, especially to those that had been kind to them, whilst in an inferior Condition. And it was observable of these Converts, that they, immediately on their Reconciliation, made themselves signal by some eminently wicked Act. Thus the Earl of *Clancarty*, soon after his being reconciled, murdered a Butcher at *Mayallo*, by tossing him in a Blanket. Captain *Nangle*, after his, murdered one *Kelly* in the Street. Lieutenant *Mac-Gennis* murdered Captain *Hamilton*. Sir *Maurice Eustace* murdered, I think, two upon his Conversion. One *Warren* murdered one *Wilson*. Captain *Waller* murdered a Player, one *Clerk*. Captain *Maurice* murdered a poor Piper, and was made High Sheriff of the *Queen's* County. Sir *Gregory Birn* turned, in order to carry a Suit of Law against Captain *Fitz Gerald*, which he is supposed to have carried by very indirect Means, as most that heard the Trial believed, it being strongly surmised by them, that he had suborned Witnesses, and corrupted the Sheriff to pack a Jury. Captain *Callaban* was content to introduce his Conversion by affronting the Judge at *Waterford*, breaking open a House, and beating the Crier of the Court to the Hazard of his Life. In short, their Converts, both Men and Women, became infamous by very notorious

rious Wickednesses. The Men by Murdering, Forgery, Perjury, Robbery, Swearing and Cursing; and the Women by Leudness, and Prostituting themselves; yet those of both Sexes were cherished and encouraged amongst them, and for being Converts were in special Request, and next in the Way to Preferment.

Lastly, It was remarkable amongst them all, Converts and others, that they were very uncharitable and void of all Compassion. They turned vast Numbers of *Protestants* out of their Houses, and left them no other Way of subsisting, but begging; and yet we rarely found, that any of them gave a Farthing to the most necessitous *Protestant* Beggar: They did not look on themselves, at least did not act, as if they had owed Faith, Truth, Justice, or Civility to any *Protestant*. They affronted, abused, betrayed, and imprisoned every body that would not be as wicked and irreligious as themselves. They often drank Damnation and Confusion to all *Heretics*, especially to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; and not content with this, if any *Protestant* chanced to be in Company, they would endeavour to force it on him, and abused or imprisoned him for his Refusal.

When they came to put in for Possessions of their ancient Estates, it was frequently observed, that several put in for the same Estate, and pretended to be the Sons or Descendants of the Proprietors; insomuch that four or five Affidavits, point blank contrary to one another, have been produced in Chancery at the same Time; the Chancellor was a little at a Loss what to do, till a *Protestant* Lawyer told him, there was a Survey taken of the Kingdom, in which twelve Men upon their Oaths had returned, who was Proprietor of each Parcel of Land in 1641. This he found to be a more certain Rule, than a thousand Affidavits; so little Value had the King's Courts, and his *Papish* Chancellor, for the Oaths of those Persons whom King

James chose to employ and cherish instead of *Protestants*. The Truth is, they were People that made no Distinction between Right and Wrong, but as they served their Interest, and therefore he chose them purposely to destroy the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom in general, and the *Protestants* in particular; and no body can deny, but they were well chosen for the Work for which he designed them, and unfit for any else.

Whoever will be at the Pains to look back on the State of *Ireland*, before it was conquered by the *English*, will find, that the Heads of *Septs* were absolute over their Tenants; their Wills passed for Laws, and all their Proceedings were merely arbitrary and despotic. This was the antient Constitution of *Ireland*, and the *English* who came over at first, had, by their Conversation with the *Irish*, learned much of their Manners: They made their Tenants Vassals and Slaves, as much as the *Irish* had been to their Chiefs; except in the *English Pale*, (which was a Scope of Ground that reached about twenty Miles from *Dublin*) and even in some Places there the Tenures of the Country Farmers were exactly that which the Law of *England* calls *Villeinage*, the Tenant having nothing he could properly call his own. Whatever the Landlord had occasion for, he sent to his Tenant's House, and caused it to be brought to him without Consideration or Allowance; or, if he pleased, he went to the Tenant's House with his Retinue, and there staid as long as he thought fit, eating and drinking, and using every Thing the Tenant had as his own. This Practice was called *Coshering*, and several Laws have been made against it.

The old Landlords, that had not forfeited their Estates in 1641, still kept up this Way of dealing with their Tenants, though secretly; and were so burthensome to them by their Exactions and *Cosherings*, that the Tenants were miserable and poor, and their Estates unimproved; whereas the *English*, and those
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that had *English* Education, and took to their Manner of Living, were content with their Rents from their Tenants; who by that Means were able to live well, grow rich, and improve their Farms. The Native *Irish*, who happened to fall under a *Protestant* Landlord, would hardly ever be persuaded to come under one of his own Religion; a little Experience sufficiently shewing unto him the Difference between a Landlord who required no more than his Due, and the old petty Tyrants, that claimed not only a Right to all his Tenant's Substance, but likewise a Power over his Life.

But many of the old Landlords lost their Estates by Outlawries and Attainders, for their Rebellion in the Year 1641, and for their murdering the *Protestants* at that Time. Many of them had sold their Estates, and some had mortgaged them for more than their Value two or three times to several Persons; a Practice very common in *Ireland*: But it is observable, that it is the Humour of these People, to count an Estate their own still, though they have sold it on the most valuable Considerations, or have been turned out of it by the most regular Proceedings of Justice; so that they reckon every Estate theirs, that either they or their Ancestors had at any Time in their Possession, no matter how many Years ago. And, by their pretended Title and Gentility, they have such an Influence on the poor Tenants of their own Nation and Religion, who live on those Lands, that these Tenants look on them still, though out of Possession of their Estates, as a kind of Landlords; maintain them after a fashion in Idleness, and entertain them in their *coshering* Manner. These Vagabonds reckoned themselves great Gentlemen, and that it would be a great Disparagement to them to betake themselves to any Calling, Trade, or Way of Industry; and therefore, either supported themselves by stealing and *torying*, or oppressing the poor Farmers, and exacting some kind of Maintenance, either
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from their *Clans* and *Septs*, or from those that lived on the *Estates* to which they pretended. And these pretended Gentlemen, together with the numerous *cosbering Popish* Clergy, that lived much after the same Manner, were the two greatest Grievances of the Kingdom, and more especially hindered its Settlement and Happiness. The Laws of *England* were intolerable to them both, nor could they subsist under them.

As to the *Popish* Landlords, who yet retained their *Estates*, it put them out of all Patience, to find that the *Bodough*, their Tenant, (so as they call the meaner sort of People) should have equal Justice against them, as well as against his fellow *Churl*; that a Landlord should be called to an Account for killing or robbing his Tenant, or ravishing his Daughter, seemed to them an unreasonable Hardship. It was unsufferable to Men that had been used to no Law, but their own Will, to be levelled with the Meanest in the Administration of Justice; and every time they were crossed by a Tenant, that would not patiently bear their Impositions, they cursed in their Hearts the Laws of *England*, and called to mind the glorious Days of their Ancestors, who, with a Word of their Mouths, could hang or ruin which of their Dependents they pleased, and had in themselves the Power of Peace and War.

This Humour in the Gentry of *Ireland* has from time to time been their Ruin, and engaged them in frequent Rebellions, being impatient of the Restraint the Laws of *England* put on their Power, though they enjoyed their *Estates*: And they still watched an Opportunity to restore themselves to their petty Tyrannies, and were ready to buy the Restitution of them at any rate. The other sort of Gentlemen I mentioned, as they called themselves, who were ousted of their *Estates*, as well as of their Power, by the same Laws, hated them yet worse; and their Clergy pushed them on with all the Arguments that ignorant Zeal or Interest

Interest could suggest : Insomuch that all sober Men, as well as *Protestants*, reckoned these the sworn Enemies of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom ; and were assured, that they would stick at no Conditions to destroy them, their Interest, Inclination, and Principles all concurring to engage them to do it.

Now these very Men were the Officers and Instruments King *James* employed and trusted, above all others. He espoused their Interest from the Time that he had Thoughts of the Crown; they were his Favourites and Confidants, and to provide for them he turned his *English* and *Protestant* Subjects first out of the Army, then out of their Civil Trusts and Employments, and lastly out of their Fortunes and Estates. He knew very well, that the Tempers and Genius of those Men were at Enmity to the Laws, and fitted for that Constitution of Slavery, under which he designed to bring the Kingdoms. He found that none were more fawning to their Superiors than they, nor did any flatter with more Meanness and Servility : And, according to the Nature of such People, none are more insolent and tyrannous to their Inferiors. And this was the Reason that they were so dear to King *James*, and that he preferred and trusted them rather than his *Protestant* and *English* Subjects. The Bargain between him and them was plainly this, ‘ Restore us to our former Power, Estates, and Religion, and we will serve you as you please, in your own Way.’ An Expression that King *James* and all his Creatures often used, and were very fond of.

These People found, that the King’s Legal Power could never restore them to the Condition at which they aimed ; that the Power and Station they desired was absolutely contrary to the Laws in being ; and that no Legal Parliament would ever alter the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom to gratify them. No wonder therefore, if they espoused and promoted an absolute and despotic Power in the King, and if
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he and they concurred so heartily to introduce it. To do them Justice, they made no Secret of it, but professed it publicly, and on all Occasions; and accordingly practised it in their several Stations. They reckoned and called every one a *Whig* and *Rebel*, that talked of any other Law than the King's Pleasure. They were liberal of their Curses and Imprecations on all Occasions; but they exceeded, and became outrageous against any one that durst alledge, that their Proceedings were against Law: 'Damn your Laws, (was frequently the Word) it is the King's Pleasure it should be so: We know no Reason why our King should not be as absolute as the King of *France*; and we will make him so before we have done.' Nay, so extravagant were many of them, that they would swear with repeated Oaths, 'That all *Protestants* were Rebels, because they would not be of the King's Religion.' An Expression, I suppose, they learned from the *French* Dragoons.

Some would undertake to argue the Case with such as seemed more moderate amongst them, and put them in mind of the Possibility of the Change of the Government, and that then the Argument would be good against themselves: But they had not Patience to hear any such Thing mentioned. And they generally swore, with the most bloody Oaths and bitter Imprecations, 'That they would never subject themselves to any King that was not of their own Religion; and that they would lose the last Drop of their Blood, rather than part with the Sword and Power put into their Hands, on any Consideration whatsoever.' These were not the Discourses of one or two hot-headed Fellows amongst them, but they universally talked at this rate. And it was the common and encouraging Speech of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, from the very beginning of his Government, and particularly when he took leave of several Privy Counsellors and Officers, at his going to wait on K. *James* at *Chester*, Aug. 1687, 'I have put the Sword into your Hands: And then, in his usual
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Stile, 'prayed God to damn them all, if ever they parted with it again.'

It is further to be remembered, that their Predecessors were so eager and earnest to recover this Power over their Vassals, and to establish their Religion, that they attempted to gain their Designs by that bloody Rebellion and Massacre in the Year 1641. An Attempt no less desperate and unlikely to succeed than wicked; and, when their own Power appeared insufficient to gain their Ends, their Supreme Council at *Kilkenny* sent Commissioners, with Instructions to offer up the Kingdom and themselves to the Pope, the King of *Spain*, or any other foreign *Papish* Prince, that would accept the Offer. This was very well known to *K. James*; he was at the Council-board when the original Instructions, signed by Order of the Supreme Council, that then managed the Affairs of the *Roman Catholics* of *Ireland*, were produced before *K. Charles II.* and his Council in *England*, in the Year 1662, empowering their Agents to this Effect: And he might very well conclude, 'That they who were willing to submit themselves to a foreign Power, to be rid of the Laws of *England*, would heartily join with him to destroy them.'

Whosoever will consider Circumstances, and lay Things together, will be apt to believe what is averred by some, 'That *K. James*, before he declared his Religion, had a Desire and Resolution to destroy the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, and make himself absolute, if ever he came to the Crown, after the Manner of *France*; and that the great Motive of declaring himself a *Roman Catholic* at first, was to make sure of that Party:' There are several Things that rightly weighed will make this probable.

If we consider, that no Party amongst us was likely to be so wicked, as to have bought his Favour, by joining with him in such a Design, except the *Papists*.

Amongst *Papists* he chose out those, and preferred them, which he thought would be most cordial to him,

and serve him most effectually in that Design. There can be no other Reason given, why he should be fonder of the *Irish* than the *English Papists*; but that he thought the one more likely to go through with him than the other. The *English Papists* are as zealous in their Religion as the *Irish*, and generally more honest Men; yet the King rather chose to cherish and employ the latter. The only imaginable Reason of his doing so was, because the *English* were not so ready to give up the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom to the Prerogative as the *Irish*; and since K. James's Kindness was distributed according to the Readiness he found in Men to betray their Country, rather than according to their Zeal for their Religion, have we not Reason to conclude the first to be the true Motive of his Kindness, rather than the latter?

Those *Protestants*, or pretended *Protestants*, that cordially and heartily espoused this Design, and served him effectually, to oppress and ruin their fellow Subjects, kept his Favour pretty well, and were employed by him, notwithstanding their being reputed *Protestants*; a certain Sign, that the Reason he discharged *Protestants* from their Trusts and Offices was chiefly, because he thought they would not serve him, as he expressed it, without reserve, or contribute heartily to enslave themselves and their Posterity.

He often declared, and more especially in his Act for *Liberty of Conscience*, made in his Parliament in *Ireland*, 'That it was his constant Resolution, that there should be no other Test or Distinction amongst his Subjects but that of Loyalty;' by which all knew that he meant an absolute Submission in every Thing to his Will; for he accounted every body disloyal that disputed or demurred at any of his Commands.

As soon as the *Irish* began to dispute his Orders, and stand on the Laws, he took it hainously from them, and they lost much of his Favour; he spake hardly of them, and wished at any rate to be rid of them: When the House of Commons crossed some Proposal of

of his, he was very much out of Humour, and declared, ' That all *Commons* were the same, as he found ' by them.' When they quarrelled with the Earl of *Melford*, his Secretary of State, he complained, ' That ' they used him basely and unkindly ; and that he ' never would have come amongst them, if he had ' thought that they would not let him chuse his own ' Servants.' When they would not suffer him to dispense with their *Act of Attainder*, or pardon any attainted in it with a *Non obstante*, he is said to have fallen into so violent a Passion, that his Nose fell a bleeding. He was very angry with some of his Council, when they demurred at his levying twenty thousand Pounds *per Month*, without Act of Parliament ; and said, ' He ' could do nothing, if he could not do that.' From whence we see, that he reckoned all his Power nothing, except he could impose Taxes, as the King of *France* doth; and that this lay at the bottom of all his Designs. Nay, it was commonly reported by the *Roman Catholics*, that K. *James* boasted and pleased himself mightily, ' That he had made himself absolute, which none ' of his Predecessors could do ; and had a more numerous Army than any of them, and consequently ' was a more glorious King.' If then his chiefest Design was to oppress our Laws and Liberties, no body can doubt but he had Instruments, whose Genius and Temper inclined them to assist him, as long as they were like to go Sharers with him in the Purchase.

The Destruction of a People is so horrid a Thing, that it is not easy to persuade a good-natured Man, that such an unnatural Design can enter into any ones Heart : And we ourselves, though almost ruined, dare hardly relate it to others, lest they should not believe us. It is certain, that, if the *Protestants* of these Kingdoms could have believed, that K. *James* would have attempted what he did, they would never have entered into such Feuds against their fellow Subjects and Friends to prevent his Exclusion. But their Zeal for the Monarchy and Succession made them willing to

overlook the Danger ; and they persuaded themselves, that the Absurdity and Difficulty of the Thing would keep him, if he came to the Crown, from attempting it, notwithstanding they knew that his Principles inclined him, and his Counsellors would prompt him to it. I question much, if any Thing but sad Experience would ever have opened the Eyes, or convinced the generality of these Nations, that his Designs were such as we found them in the Event : And, perhaps it is worth all our Sufferings, though very heavy, to have learned (as we have done) by this Example, never to trust Men of K. *James's* Principles and Religion with a Power that may destroy us ; since it appears in him, that no Interest, Difficulties, or Obligations are sufficient to hinder such from employing that Power to effect it. No Man could be under deeper Obligations to use his Power with Moderation, than K. *James* was ; yet, in the short Time he possessed it, he employed it with so much Diligence and Earnestness to destroy us, that he in a great Measure accomplished it ; and we must thank God only, and K. *William's* victorious Arms, that saved us from a total and final Destruction, to which we were so manifestly devoted. To make this appear, it will be necessary to take a short View of the State of *Ireland*, at, and after K. *James's* Coming to the Crown ; and, by the Alteration he introduced, it will plainly appear what he designed. At his Coming to the Crown *Ireland* was in a most flourishing Condition : Lands were every where improved, and Rents advanced to near double what they had been in a few Years before ; the Kingdom abounded with Money ; Trade flourished, even to the Envy of our Neighbours ; Cities, especially *Dublin*, increased exceedingly ; Gentlemen's Seats were built, or building every where ; and Parks, Enclosures, and other Ornaments were carefully promoted ; insomuch, that many Places of the Kingdom equalled the Improvements of *England*. The *Papists* themselves, where Rancour, Pride, or Laziness did not hinder them, lived happily, and

and a great many of them got considerable Estates ; either by Traffic, by the Law, or by other Arts and Industry.

There was a free Liberty of Conscience, by Connivance, though not by the Law ; and the King's Revenue increased, proportionably to the Kingdom's Advance in Wealth, and was every Day growing : It amounted to more than three hundred thousand Pounds *per Ann.* a Sum sufficient to defray all the Expence of the Crown, and to return yearly a considerable Sum into *England* ; to which this Nation had formerly been a constant Expence.

It is certainly the Interest of all Kings to govern their Subjects with Justice and Equity ; if therefore they understood or would mind their true Interest, no King would ruin any of his Subjects ; but it often happens, that either Men are so weak that they do not understand their Interest, or else so little at their own Command, that some foolish Passion or Humour sways them more than all the Interest in the World ; and from these proceeds all the ill Government which has ruined so many Kingdoms. Now, K. *James* was so bent on gaining an absolute Power over the Lives and Liberties of his Subjects, and introducing his Religion, that he valued no Interest, when it came in Competition with those.

Every body that knew K. *James's* Interest, and the true Interest of his Kingdoms, knew, that it concerned him to keep fair with *Protestants*, especially with that Party who were most devoted to him, and had set the Crown upon his Head ; and this had been, in the Opinion of thinking Men, the most effectual Way to enlarge his Power, and introduce his Religion ; but, because it did not suit with the Methods his bigotted Counsellors had proposed, he took a Course directly contrary to his Interest, and seemed to take a peculiar Pleasure, in affronting and oppressing those very Men, whom in Interest he was most concerned to cherish and support.

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His proceeding thus in *England* was visibly the Cause of his Ruin ; he had left himself no Friend to stand by him, when he stood in greatest Need of them. Upon his coming to *Ireland* the *Protestants* had entertained some favourable Hopes, that he would have seen and been convinced of his Error, and would now at last govern himself by other Measures ; it was manifestly his Interest to have done so, and nothing in probability could have allayed the Heats of *England* and *Scotland* so much, as his Justice and Kindness to the *Protestants* of *Ireland* ; nor could any Thing have had so much the Appearance of an Answer to those many and evident Arguments, by which they demonstrated his destructive Designs against those Kingdoms, as to have had it to say, ‘ That in *Ireland*, where it was in his Power, he was far from doing what they surmised he intended to do in *England* ; or, if he had ever any such Intentions, it was plain he had now altered them.’ These Things were laid before him, by some that wished well to his Affairs, and had more Prudence than his furious and bigotted Counsellors ; and sometimes they seemed to make Impressions on him ; but the Priests and needy Courtiers, who had swallowed in their Imaginations the Spoils and Estates of the *Protestants* of *England*, as well as of *Ireland*, could not endure to hear of this. They seemed mightily afraid, lest he should be restored to his Throne by Consent of his *Protestant* Subjects : ‘ For, if so (said they) we know it will be on so strict Conditions, that we shall gain but little by it ; it will not be in his Power to gratify us.’ And not only they, but the *Irish* in general likewise endeavoured to make his Restitution by way of Articles of Peace impracticable and impossible. A Design so extremely foolish, that it is strange any should be found so sillily wicked as to promote it ; or that K. *James* should be so imposed on as to hearken to it ; and yet it is certain he did, at least sometimes, entertain it ; and was heard to express himself to one that pressed him to Moderation to *Protestants* on this
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Account, ' That he never expected to get into *England*, but with Fire and Sword.'

However, his Counsellors were not so weak, but they saw what Disadvantage his dealing with the *Protestants* had on the Interest of *England*, and therefore they took care to conceal it as much as possible ; they stopped all Intercourse as far as they could with *England* ; they had a Party to cry up the Mildness of K. *James's* Government towards the *Protestants* ; to applaud the Ease, the Plenty, the Security in which they lived, and to run down and discredit all Relations to the contrary that came from *Ireland*. These endeavoured to persuade the World, that there was no such Thing as a Bill of Attainder, or of Repeal ; no Act taking away the Preferments or Maintenance of the Clergy ; nor any Imprisonment or Plundering of *Protestants* ; no taking away of Goods by private Orders of the King, or levying of Moneys by Proclamations. In short, they did that which on all Occasions is the Practice and indeed the Support of *Popery*. They endeavoured to face down plain Matter of Fact with Confidence, and to persuade the World, that all these were meer Forgeries of K. *James's* Enemies. As many as believed these Allegations of theirs, and were persuaded by them, that, the *Protestants* of *Ireland* were well used by K. *James*, were inclined to favour him ; a certain Sign, that, if they had been really well used by him, it would have gotten him many Friends, and perhaps reconciled some of his worst Enemies. But the Design, entertained by him and his Party, required the Ruin of *Protestants*, and of their Religion ; whereas his Interest required, that it should not be believed that he designed either ; and therefore Care was taken to prosecute the Design with all Eagerness, and deny the Matter of Fact with all Impudence ; and his Majesty took care to promote both ; For he ruined the *Protestants* of *Ireland* by his Acts of Parliament, and by the other Methods we shall hereafter speak of ; and by his Proclamations sent privately into *England*, to his Partisans

lans their, assured the World, ' That the *Protestant Religion* and Interest were his special Care, and that he ' had secured them against their Enemies.' It was his Interest to have done, as well as pretended, this; but the Carrying on his Design, was so much in his Thoughts, that he chose to sacrifice his Interest to it.

And no Wonder, if it be true, what is reported of him, ' That he resolved to die a Martyr, rather than ' not settle his Religion; and that he had rather die the ' next Day after that Design was compassed, than live ' fifty Years without effecting it.' All which sufficiently explains that which seemed a Riddle to many, how *K. James* should be so very hard on his *Protestant* Subjects, when his Interest required, that he should treat them with all imaginable Kindness, especially in the present Circumstances of his Affairs whilst in *Ireland*. The Reasons of his acting contrary to his Interest in so palpable an Instance, were either from the Persuasions of his ill Counsellors, who assured him, ' That they would so order the Matter, that what he did in *Ireland* should not ' be heard of, or not be believed in *England*; or else ' from a settled Resolution, not to mind any Interest, ' which came in Competition with his grand Designs ' of advancing *Papery* and the Slavery of these Nations.' To effect which, it is manifest, he was content to be a Vassal to *France*: For whosoever calls in a potent Neighbour to his Assistance, must reckon that will be the Consequence, if he get the better by his Means; of which the *Irish* themselves were sensible when they saw the *French* Succours landed; and the *Protestants* could not but conclude, that *K. James* was so intent upon destroying them, that (provided he compassed that Design) he cared not if he enslaved himself and the Kingdoms.

Nor had the Services of any towards him more Influence on him than his own Interest. Never had any Prince fairer Opportunities to distinguish his Friends from his Enemies, than *K. James*; the Struggle he had to get the Crown was so long, and the Issue so doubtful, that there was no Temptation for any one to dis-
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seem his Thoughts towards him; and never had Subjects a fairer Opportunity to serve and merit Regard from a Prince. But his Carriage to those that then proved his Friends, who against their own Interest, and against the Endeavours of the most powerful, and most diffused Faction that ever appeared in a Kingdom, set the Crown on his Head, is a plain Demonstration of what Force, Merit, or Service were with him, towards altering his private Designs. No sooner did it appear, that those who were against the Exclusion, designed to preserve the Kingdom, as well as the Succession, but he abandoned them, and not only laid them aside, but further exposed them to the Revenge of those very Men that they had provoked by espousing his Quarrel. It is no News to any, how King *James* cast off his best Friends, when he saw that they would not proceed after his Measures, to destroy the Liberty and Religion of their Country; and took into his Bosom and Council those that had been his most bitter Enemies, when he perceived, that they would assist him in that Design. Which is a plain Demonstration, that he had no Regard to Services or Merit, further than they tended to enslave the Nation, and destroy the settled Religion. But no *Potestant* that had any Value for his God, his Conscience, or Country, could pretend to this Merit; and therefore, in the King's Opinion, he could do nothing that his Majesty would count a Service.

King *James* had no Desire to be served by *Protestants*, as was manifest by his turning many out, for no other Reason, but because they would not change their Religion. By preferring *Papists* to all Places of Trust and Profit, tho' not so deserving or well qualified for them as those that possessed them. By his declaring, 'That he would have all that did eat his *Bread of his own Religion.*' If therefore he employed any, it was for a Colour, either to cover his Partiality, or because he could not find a *Papist* fit for their Places, or because he believed, that in Time

he might gain them to be of his Religion; or lastly, because he had some odious Work to do, which he thought he could the better excuse, if he could get a *Protestant* to do it; where these Reasons ceased, he never employed any. But it is observable, where he did employ them, though their Places were considerable, yet they never had the Interest with him, or Power proper to their Place, but were mere Cyphers in it. Thus he made Sir *Edward Herbert* Chancellor of *England*, and caused a Seal to be cut for him; but he never allowed him that Interest with him, or had that Regard for him in Councils that his Place required. The puisne *Papist* Judges had more Influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he; he was not admitted to the Secret of Affairs at all, and at the public Councils he was set below *Fitton*, Chancellor of *Ireland*, and several others; whom I am informed, whilst employed as Chancellor of *England*, and in his Master's Presence, he ought to have preceded. But generally *Protestants* were only admitted to inferior Places, and for the most part with a Companion; and they had only the Name, their Companions must do all, and they durst not contradict them; and though they were intitled to rise according as Vacancies fell, yet some inconsiderable *Papist* was sure to get the start of them, and to be put over their Heads; so that it was never in their Power to serve the King considerably, or merit any thing at his Hands.

If they did chance to do any thing signal, yet their Enemies had so much the Advantage of King *James's* Ear, that they were sure to be misrepresented; and what those said, having the dead Weight of Religion to help it, did generally with him outweigh the *Protestant* Service. Of this Sir *Charles Murray* is an Instance; he followed King *James* through *France* to *Ireland*, and all along appeared zealous for his Service. Yet because he professed himself a *Protestant*, upon his landing at *Kinsale*, some that had an ill Will to him pre-

prevailed with the King to clap him up a Prisoner in the Fort of *Kinsale*, where he lay without being able to learn any Reason for his Confinement, from the 12th of *March*, 1688-9, till toward the end of the following Summer; and then they had occasion for him to help to order their Camp, and fortify *Ardee*, which procured him his Liberty; though he never could have the Satisfaction to learn either his Crime, or his Accuser.

My Lord *Forbes*, Son to the Earl of *Granard*, is another remarkable Instance: When the pretended Parliament sat in *Dublin*, both Houses were informed, that my Lord *Forbes* adhered to King *James's* Interest in *England*, and that he was a Prisoner in the *Tower* upon that Account, his Friends thought it proper to improve this Occasion with the King, and the Parliament, to save my Lord's Estate at *Mollingar*, which he held under the Act of Settlement. And this seemed the more feasible, because the Lands did, if not all, yet for the most Part, formerly belong not to private Persons, but to a Corporation. But all the Interest that could be made did not prevail; all that could be obtained was a Clause, implying, That the Commissioners that should be appointed to execute the Act, should set him out a Reprizal under the same Limitations, under which he held the Town and Lands of *Mollingar*; which (as one of the House of Commons expressed it) was a *Mouthful of Moon-shine*: So little Regard was had to the Services or Merits of *Protestants*.

And they had no Reason to expect it should be otherwise; for there was no Regard had to the most considerable *Papists*, where their Interest interfered with the general Design. It was resolved to destroy the Act of Settlement, the Foundation of the *English* and *Protestant* Interest in *Ireland*. This brought along with it Destruction to many *Papists* that had Estates under it, which they had purchased since the Year 1662, as well as to *Protestants*. Those *Papists* were very

numerous, and more wealthy than the rest (especially in *Connaught*) and they were likewise very zealous for King *James*, and many of them in his actual Service, and venturing their Lives for him, at the Time of passing the Act of Repeal; yet this did not hinder him from giving away their Estates by that Act to the old Proprietors.

In short, if serving King *James* truly and faithfully, even to their own Prejudice, whilst it was for his Advantage and his Circumstances needed their Service, could have merited his Favour, most *Protestants* had supererogated; but all this passed for nothing with him, he would be *served his own Way*; that is, he would have had *Protestants* been active to destroy their Properties, Liberty, and Religion; he would have had them lend their Hands to tie the Chains of Slavery for them and their Posterity, to which they had already contributed too far to oblige his Humour, both before and after his Coming to the Crown, against the common Interest of the Kingdom. Nothing less than the same blind Obedience would serve him in the State, which his Clergy require in the Church, which we would not by any means pay him; and therefore it was in vain for us to think of preserving ourselves by any Merit or Service we could render him; he did not think any thing a *Protestant* could do with a good Conscience to be a Service. And if we did all was required, yet there never wanted Persons about his Majesty who had Malice enough towards us, and Interest enough with him, to misrepresent our most meritorious Actions.

Nor was the good Nature and merciful Disposition of King *James* any greater Security to the *Protestants* of *Ireland*, than their own Merits towards him. There are, it is true, Kings in the World, that have an absolute Power over the Lives and Liberties of their Subjects; and yet govern them with such Justice and Mercy, that they suffer very little Inconveniency by it: But the Examples of this kind are so very rare, that
it

it is ill trusting any one with such a Power. King *James's* Partizans made it their Business to represent their Master as the most merciful and justest Prince in the World; and then they railed at us that grudged to lay our own and our Posterities Lives and Liberties at his Feet. Perhaps if he alone had been to have had the Disposal of them, and would have followed his natural Inclinations, we should not so much have feared to have trusted him; but whilst he had such Ministers about him, and embraced a Religion of such Principles as he professed, we had no Reason to depend much on his natural Clemency or Inclination, for these were sufficient to corrupt the best natured Man in the World.

It is not necessary that what has been said should bring in question the good Nature or merciful Temper of King *James*, though we confess we were unwilling to trust it too far. We had before our Thoughts the Proceedings in the *West of England*, where we saw his Clemency did not interpose, but suffered more to be prosecuted, tried, condemned, and executed for that one Rebellion, (and yet it was not so considerable as many others) than perhaps had suffered in that manner for many of the Rebellions since the Conquest. We found that he consented to attain above two thousand five hundred of the most considerable Persons of this Kingdom; and, that his good Nature might not be a Temptation to pardon them, he put it out of his Power to do it by the same Act. After his Coming into *Ireland*, very few Pardons passed the Great Seal, perhaps not three; nor had many so much as the Promise of a Pardon given them, though very many needed and desired it,

Many of the Country People, who were not of the Army, were brought up Prisoners; they pleaded that they were not concerned in the Wars, that they lived in their Houses, and on their Farms, and submitted only to the stronger, without engaging in the Cause,
but

but all to no purpose: They were used worse than the Soldiers who were Prisoners, and suffered to starve in Goals, if the Charity of their fellow *Protestants* had not relieved them. Many who were wronged and oppressed petitioned his Majesty for Redress, but their Petitions were rejected, at best mislaid; and the Petitioners were so far from obtaining any Answer, that they often could never hear what became of their Petitions.

The chief Counsellors of the King were the *Popish* Clergy, and the Descendents of such as had shed the Blood of so many *Protestants* in the Year 1641, who then ruined and destroyed the Kingdom, and made it a Heap of Rubbish, and a Slaughter-house; and whilst he hearkened to the Suggestions and Councils of such, it was not possible for him to exert his good Nature and Clemency towards us.

It was the continual Business of these Counsellors to incense the King against us, to represent us as People unworthy of any Favour, Humanity or Justice; that we were all Rogues, Villains and Traitors, and not fit to be allowed the common Offices of Humanity: This Chancellor *Fitton* declared on the Bench: This the King's Favourites and Attendants suggested publicly to him at his Times of Eating, at his *Couchee* and *Levee*, and upon all Occasions.

However it was, it is evident by the Effect, that K. *James* in great measure completed the Ruin of the *Protestants* and *English* Interest in this Kingdom; which will plainly appear, in his dealing with the Army, with the Courts of Judicature, with the Privy Council and Officers, with Corporations, with Trade and the trading People of the Nation, with our Liberties, with our Fortunes, with the Lives of his *Protestant* Subjects, and with their Religion.

The Army of *Ireland*, which K. *James* found at his Coming to the Crown, consisted of about seven thousand, as loyal Men, and as cordial to the King's Service, as any one could be; both Officers and Soldiers had

had been inured to it for many Years. They looked on him as their Master and Father, entirely depending on him, and expecting nothing from any body else. When *Monmouth's* and *Argyle's* Rebellion called for their Assistance to suppress them; no People in the World could shew more Chearfulness or Forwardness than they did; and it is observable, that no one Man in *Ireland* was ever found to be conscious or consenting to those Rebellions; the *Protestants* of all Sorts shewed great Horror and Detestation of them, and were discernably melancholy till the Rebels were suppressed. Most of the Officers of this Army had been so zealous to serve the King, that they had by his Permission and Encouragement bought their Employments; many of them had laid out their whole Fortunes, and contracted Debts to purchase a Command; yet no sooner was *K. James* settled in his Throne, but he began to turn out some of the Officers, that had been most zealous for his Service, and had deserved best of him, meerly because they had been counted firm to the *Protestant* Religion and *English* Interest. The first, who were made Examples to the rest, were the *Ld. Shannon*, *Capt. Robert Fitz-Gerald*, *Capt. Richard Coote*, and *Sir Oliver St. George*. The three first were Earls Sons, who either in their own Persons, or by their Fathers and Relations, had been signally active in restoring *K. Charles II.* and the Royal Family to their just Rights, 1660; so had *Sir Oliver St. George*: And they were all of them without any other Exception, but their Zeal for their Religion, and the *English* Interest in *Ireland*. But the common saying was, 'That *K. James* would regard no Man for any Service done to him, his Father, or Brother, but only for future Service that he expected from them:'. And since he could not expect, that these Gentlemen should assist him to destroy the *Protestant* Religion, or the Liberties of his Subjects, which was the Service he then expected, he took their Troops from them, and gave them to Persons of mean or broken Fortunes, who must do any thing to keep them;

them ; some of them unqualified by Law. It is fit their Names should be known, that the Reader may the better observe what kind of Change the King began with, when he substituted Capt. *Kerney*, if I remember right, one of the *Ruffians*, Capt. *Anderson*, a Person of no Fortune, Capt. *Sheldon*, a professed *Papist*, and Capt. *Grabam*, in the Places of the before-mentioned Gentlemen.

But to convince the World, that no Consideration was to be had of Loyalty or Merit, except a Man were a *Papist* : The Duke of *Ormond* was sent for abruptly, and divested of the Government, with such Circumstances that did no ways correspond with the Service he had rendered the Crown in general, and K. *James* in particular. Immediately the modelling of the Army was put into the Hands of Col. *Richard Talbot*, a Person more hated than any other Man by the *Protestants*; and who had been named by *Oates* in his Narrative for this very Employment. When therefore the *Protestants* saw him put into it, many who believed nothing of a Plot before, gave credit now to his Narrative, and the common Saying was, ‘ That if *Oates* was an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet.’ Col. *Talbot*, afterwards Earl of *Tyrconnel*, knew the Necessity of having the Army fitted to his Purpose, it being the Engine he depended on for the destroying the Religion, Liberty, and Laws of the Kingdom ; and therefore set about it with all Expedition, and prosecuted it in such a Manner as might be expected from a Man of his insolent Temper. He exercised at the same Time so much Falshood and Barbarity, that, if the Army had not been the best principled with Loyalty and Obedience of any in the World, they would have mutinied, or at least dispatched him. In the Morning he would take an Officer into his Closet, and with all the Oaths, Curses and Damnations, that were never wanting to him, he would profess Friendship and Kindness to him, and promise him the Continuance of his Commission ; and in the Afternoon

cashier

cashier him, with all the Contempt he could heap on him; nay, perhaps, while he was thus carelling him, he had actually given away his Commission. As for the Soldiers and Troopers, his Way with them was to march them from their usual Quarters, to some distant Place where he thought they were least known, where they would be put to the greatest Hardships, and there he stripped them: The Foot of Cloaths, for which they had payed; and the Troopers of their Horses, Boots, and Furniture, bought with their own Money; and set them to walk barefooted one hundred, or an hundred and fifty Miles to their Homes, or Friends, if they had any. Sometimes he would promise them something for their Horses; but then he told them, that they must come to *Dublin* for it: If any came to demand the small Pittance promised them for their Horses or Arrears of Pay, he contrived it so, that they should be obliged to wait till they had spent twice as much as they expected; and most of them, after all, got nothing. By this Means two or three hundred *Protestant* Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or a good Part of their Fortunes, and contracted Debts on Commissions, were not left worth any Thing, but were turned out without Reason, or any Consideration; and five or six thousand Soldiers sent a begging: A Hardship perhaps never put on any Army before, without any Provocation; against whom there was no other Exception, but that they were *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, and *K. James*, by substituting *Irishmen* and *Papists* in their Places contrary to the Laws, and to the very Design of keeping a standing Army in *Ireland*, clearly demonstrated, that he had no Regard to the Laws, or to the Preservation of the Kingdom, and that he designed to advance the *Popish Irish* Interest in *Ireland*; which every body knows cannot be done, without the utter Ruin of the *English Protestants*.

Yet all this we patiently endured, and exercised our Charity in relieving the poor cashiered Soldiers, and in putting the ruined Gentlemen into a Way of subsist-
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ing; which was generally by sending them over Seas to foreign Service ; and perhaps their Clamours and Sufferings might contribute to move the Compassion of the Prince of *Orange*, and forward his Designs.

In the mean Time, the new raised Forces and Officers being put into Arms and Command, to which they were Strangers, into good Cloaths, and mounted on Horses for which others had paid, behaved themselves with all the Insolence common to such sort of Men, when unworthily advanced. They every where insulted over the *English*, and had their Mouths continually full of Oaths, Curses, and Imprecations against them ; they railed on them, and gave them all the opprobrious Names they could ; and, if any chastized them for their Sauciness, though ever so much provoked, they had the Judges and Juries on their Side. They might kill whom they pleased without fear of Law, as appeared from Captain *Nangle's* murdering his disbanded Officer in the Streets of *Dublin* ; but, if any killed or hurt them, they were sure to suffer ; as Captain *Aston* found to his Cost, who was hanged for killing a *Papist*, upon his abusing the Captain's Wife in the Street. They immediately ruined all the *Protestants* Inns in *Ireland*, partly by oppressing them with Quarters, partly by paying nothing for what they had in their Quarters, and partly by driving away other Guests by their Rudeness.

In this Insolence they continued and daily increased, till the Prince of *Orange* came into *England*. But then new Commissions were issued out with all Diligence, of one sort or another, sometimes five hundred in a Day. All the Scum and Rascality of the Kingdom were made Officers ; every where the *Papists* armed and enlisted themselves, and the Priests suffered no Man to come to Mass, that did not arm himself with at least a Skain and half Pike. The new commissioned Officers were obliged without Pay to subsist their Men, as they termed it, for three Months, a Thing impossible

fible for them to do, since most of them were not able to maintain themselves. The better sort of their Captains and inferior Officers had been Footmen or Servants to *Protestants*. One Gentleman's Cow-herd was made a Lieutenant, but he fain would have capitulated with his Master, to keep his Place vacant for him, if his Commission did not hold. Most of them were the Sons or Descendents of Rebels in 1641, who had murdered so many *Protestants*. Many were outlawed and condemned Persons, that had lived by *Tor-ying* and *Robbing*. No less than fourteen notorious *Tories* were Officers in *Cormuck O Neal's* Regiment; and when forty or fifty thousand such were put into Arms, without any Money to pay them, we must leave the World to judge what Apprehensions this must breed in *Protestants*, and whether they had not Reason to fear the Destruction that immediately fell on them; they saw their Enemies in Arms, and their own Lives in their Power. They saw their Goods at the Mercy of those Thieves, and Robbers, and *Tories*, now armed and authorized, from whom they could scarce keep them, when it was in their Power to pursue and hang them. And they had all the Reason in the World to believe, that a Government, that had armed such Men of desperate Fortunes and Resolutions, was so far from protecting them, which is the only End of all Government, that on the contrary it designed to destroy both their Lives and Fortunes. The latter of which, as will appear by the Sequel, they in a manner intirely lost.

The Support and Happiness of a Kingdom consists chiefly in the equal and impartial Administration of Justice; and that depends on the Choice of fit and duly qualified Persons for filling the Courts, and executing the Laws; by those Laws no Man was capable of being a Judge, who had not taken the Oath of Supremacy. The Judges he found on the Bench had taken it; but yet some of them were known to be rather too favourable to *Papists*; and, considering

the Influence King *James* had in his Brother's Time in disposing of Offices, it is not to be imagined, that he would suffer any Man to sit as a Judge, who had not been favourably represented unto him in that Point; though we must own he was mistaken in some of them: Hence it came that *Protestants* did frequently complain of the Favour and Countenance their Adversaries found in the Courts of Justice, even in King *Charles* the 1st's Time. But when King *James* came to the Crown, moderate, nay favourable Judges would not do the Work he designed. He found it necessary to employ the most zealous of his Party; those who, both by Interest and Inclination, were most deeply engaged to destroy the *Protestant English* Interest; and accordingly such were picked out and set on all the Benches.

The Chancery is the great and highest Court, wherein the great Frauds and other Matters belonging to Trusts and Equity are determined; and neither the Lord Primate *Boyle*, who had managed that Court above twenty Years, nor Sir *Charles Porter*, who succeeded him, could answer the King's Intention: But Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Person detected of Forgery, not only at *Westminster* and *Chester*, but likewise fined by the House of Lords in Parliament, must be brought out of Goal, and set on the highest Court of the Kingdom, to keep the King's Conscience, though he wanted Law and natural Capacity, as well as Honesty and Courage, to discharge such a Trust; and had no other Quality to recommend him, besides his being a Convert *Papist*; that is, a Renegado to his Religion and his Country; but the Mystery of this was easily found out. The *Papists* of *Ireland* had gone a great way to retrieve the Estates they had forfeited by the Rebellion in 1641, by counterfeit Settlements, Forgeries, and Perjuries, and to do their Business in a great measure, there needed no more than to find a Judge that would be favourable to, and countenance such Proceedings; and where could they find a more favourable Judge, than

than one who was notoriously involved in the same Guilt, and who probably in some Cases did not esteem such Arts unlawful? But, besides this, there is requisite to a Chancellor a peculiar Quickness of Parts and Dexterity, to penetrate into the Contrivances of Cheats and Forgeries; for which Sir *Alexander Fitton's* natural Slowness and Heaviness incapacitated him; but this very Defect, together with his Zeal for *Popery*, fitted him to execute the King's Design, as effectually as any that could have been found. He could not understand the Merit of a Cause of any Difficulty, and therefore never failed to give Sentence according to his Inclination, having no other Rule to lead him; and how he was inclined towards *Protestants* appeared from his Declarations on all Occasions against them; he did not stick, on a Hearing, to declare, that 'They were all Rogues, and that amongst forty thousand there was not one, who was not a Traitor, a Rebel, and a Villain.' For this Reason he would not allow the Guardianship of a Child to the *Protestant* Mother, but gave it against the positive Words of the Law, to the *Popish* Relations: For this Reason he refused to hear so much as a Demurrer in the *Popish* Dean of *Christ-Church*, *Mr. Stafford's* Case. For this Cause he overruled both the common Rules of Practice of the Courts, and the Laws of the Land, declaring in open Court, 'That the Chancery was above all Laws, that no Law could bound his Conscience;' and he acted accordingly in many Cases where *Protestants* were concerned. After hearing a Cause between one of them and a *Papist*, he would often declare that he would consult a Divine before he gave a Decree; that is, he would have the Opinion of a *Popish* Priest, his Chaplain, educated in *Spain*, and furnished with Distinctions to satisfy his Conscience, how far he should do Justice to *Protestants*. Many *Papists* came and made Affidavits of being in Possession when they never were, and got Injunctions and Orders without any more ado, to quiet their Possessions. But a *Protestant*, though never so palpably disturbed

disturbed, could not procure any Order; but was sent to the Common-Law to recover his Possession, by a *Popish* Jury, returned by a *Popish* Sheriff, before a *Popish* Judge; that is, he must expect Law from Judges and Officers, that sat and acted in Defiance of Law. If at any Time the Chancellor was forced to grant an Injunction or a Decree, it was with all the Difficulties and Delays that could be; and often the Thing was lost and destroyed before the Order came for recovering of it.

We see from the Choice of a Chancellor, what care King *James* took for the Administration of Equity to *Protestants*. To help the Matter he added, as Assistants to the Chancellor, Dr. *Stafford*, a *Popish* Priest, for one Master of the Chancery; and *Felix O Neal*, Son of *Turlough O Neal*, the great Rebel in 1641, and Massacrer of the *Protestants*, for another. To these generally the Causes between *Protestants* and *Papists* were referred, and upon their Report the Chancellor past his Orders and Decrees.

Next to Chancery is the King's Bench, where Subjects are tried for their Lives and Fortunes: Upon this was set Mr. *Thomas Nugent*, (afterwards made Baron of *Riverstown*) the Son of one who had been Earl of *Westmeath*, but had lost his Honour and Estate for being an Actor in the Rebellion in 1641. This Mr. *Nugent*, who had never been taken notice of at the Bar, but for a more than ordinary Brogue on his Tongue, as they call it, and Ignorance in the Law, was pitched on by King *James*, to judge whether the Outlawries against his Father and his Fellow-rebels should be reversed, and whether the Settlement of *Ireland*, founded on those Outlawries, should stand good. It was a Demonstration to us what the King intended, when he assigned us such a Chief Justice; and indeed the Gentleman did not fail to answer the Expectation conceived of him. He reversed the Outlawries as fast as they came before him, notwithstanding a Statute made in Point against it: And in all the

the Causes that ever came before him, wherein the Plaintiffs and Defendants were *Papist* and *Protestant*, I could not learn from the most diligent Observer, that ever he gave Sentence for the latter: Nay, it is shrewdly suspected that he went Sharer in some considerable Causes, and not only appeared for them on the Bench, but also secretly encouraged and fomented them. Before him a Deed should be judged forged or not forged, according as it served a *Popish* Interest. And a *Protestant* needed no more to gain a Cause against another *Protestant*, than to turn *Papist*; which manifestly appeared in Sir *Gregory Birn's* Case, who merely by turning *Papist*, in the midst of his Suit against Captain *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, got a Deed condemned of Forgery, and recovered five or six hundred Pounds *per Annum*, notwithstanding Mr. *Daniel Birn*, his Father, some Years before, for pretending it was forged, had been sued in an Action of the Case, and forced to pay two hundred Pounds Damages: And, though there appeared in Court a Bond under *Birn's* Hands, obliging him to pay two hundred Pounds to the Witnesses, in case they should prove Captain *Fitz-Gerald's* Deed to be forged, yet the Proof was accepted. But these were common Things in this Court, and the Mischief had been much greater, had not a Writ of Error, laid from this Court to the Kings-Bench in *England*. In one Thing more he signalized himself; it was by committing and prosecuting People for feigned Offences and Treasons, and by countenancing and encouraging, and after Discovery protecting false Witnesses against *Protestants*. Many were brought in Danger of their Lives by his Contrivances; and when the Accused were acquitted on Trial, by a palpable Demonstration that the Witnesses were perjured, he declared, that they neither could nor should be prosecuted, for they only swore for the King, and he believed the accused Persons guilty, though it could not be proved. In short, he shewed all the Venom and Rigour against them he could; he was set up to destroy them, and he went as far

far in it as his Power could reach ; his Weakness, not his Inclination, hindred him from carrying it farther. It may be guessed how he stood inclined to them by the great Hand he had in promoting the Bill of Attainder, and the Bill to vest all Absentees Goods in the King ; whereby much the greater Part of the *Protestants* of *Ireland* lost all their Estates, Personal and Real. He was assisted on the Bench by Sir *Brian O Neal*, as puisne Judge, a weak Man, that had nothing to recommend him but Venom and Zeal, being otherwise disabled both in his Reason and Body. Only he had the Faculty to do what he was bid, especially when it suited with his own Inveteracy against *Englishmen* and *Protestants*.

The next Court for Business (though not for Precedence) is the *Exchequer* : In which all Actions where-in the King's Revenue, or any other Man's Estate is concerned, may be tried. From this Court no Writ of Error lies in *England* ; so they were free here from that Check, which was so troublesome to them in other Courts. Upon this Consideration it was that the whole Business of the Kingdom, so far as it concerned them, was brought into this Court ; though not so proper for it. Here were brought all Actions of Trespasses and Ejectments concerning Estates ; all *Quo Warranto's* against Corporations, and *Scire Facias's* about Offices : And they thought themselves concerned to have an able Man, and one thoroughly cordial to their Interest for the Chief Judge in it : For if he had wanted Sense or Law, though willing, as they found by Experience in some of the other Courts, he might have been unable to serve them in all Cases. They therefore fixed on Mr. *Stephen Rice*, afterward Sir *Stephen*, who had formerly been noted for a Rook and Gamester at the Inns of Court. He was (to give him his due) a Man of the best Sense amongst them, well enough versed in the Law, but most signal for his Inveteracy against the *Protestant* Interest and Settlement of *Ireland* ; having been often heard to say, before he was

was a Judge, “ that he would drive a Coach and Six
 “ Hórses through the Act of Settlement,” upon which
 both depended. And before that Act was repealed in
 their pretended Parliament, he declared on the Bench
 “ that it was against natural Equity, and could not
 “ bind any body”. This Man did King *James* chuse
 for chief Baron, and for the final Determination of all
 Suits that lay between *Protestants* and *Papists*, either in
 Common-law or Equity. And it is no hard Matter
 to conjecture what Success the *Protestants* met with in
 their Suits before a Judge that declared, as he did, that
 they should have no avour, Fbut *Summum Jus*, that is,
 the utmost Rigor of the Law. Immediately this Court
 was filled with *Popish* Plaintiffs : Every one that had
 a forged Deed or a false Witness, met with Favour
 and Countenance from him ; and he, knowing that they
 could not bring his Sentences into *England* to be re-
 examined there, acted as a Man that feared no after
 Account or Reckoning. It was some considerable
 time before he would allow a Writ of Error into the
Exchequer Chamber, though that was in Effect to them-
 selves ; and when it was allowed, it was to little Pur-
 pose before such Judges. It was before him all the
 Charters of the Kingdom were condemned, and that
 in a Term or two, in such a Manner that proved him a
 Man of Dispatch, though not of Justice. If he had
 been left alone, it was really believed that in few Years
 he would, by some Contrivance or other, have given
 away most of the *Protestants* Estates in *Ireland*, with-
 out troubling a Parliament to attain them ; which
 was a more compendious, but not a more certain way
 to destroy them, than the Methods he took. It was
 he that without Hearing after he had dissolved the
 Corporations by giving Sentence against their Char-
 ters, declared void all the Leases of Lands or of Per-
 quisities made by them, though long before their Dis-
 solution, and on very good Considerations ; and there-
 upon ousted several *Protestants* of their Leases : But
 it were endless to mention all the Oppressions and un-

just Proceedings of this Court; it were in effect to transcribe the Records of it. Let me only observe that the chief Baron was assisted by Sir *Henry Lynch* as second Baron, who came indeed short of him in Parts, but yielding nothing to him in Malice to the *Protestant* Religion and Interest.

The Court of *Common Pleas* had little to do: The business, so far as concerned the Protestants and Papists, was intirely carried out of it to the *King's Bench*, or *Exchequer*, and therefore they permitted the Lord chief Justice *Keating* still to sit in it, but pinioned with two of their own sort, that if any thing should chance to come before him, he might be out-voted by them. The Truth is they were jealous of this Court, not only because a *Protestant* was chief Justice in it, but likewise because Judge *Dally* sat as puisne Judge, who though a *Roman Catholic* yet understood the Common-law so well, and behaved himself so impartially, that they did not care to bring their Causes before him: So much did they dread the Prospect of Justice, though before Judges that were of their own Party and Persuasion.

The Circuits are an Extention of the Courts, whereby Justice is carried into the Country: These were managed much at the same Rate with the Courts, and where the Sheriff and Judge were both *Papists*, it is not difficult to guess what Justice *Protestants* must expect; what packing of Juries there was amongst them, and how deeply the Judges themselves were concerned in such Practices.

It will be requisite to say something of the Attorney General which King *James* made, instead of Sir *William Domville*, which was Mr. *Richard Nagle*, whom he afterwards Knighted, and made Secretary of State; he was at first designed for a Clergy-Man, and educated amongst the *Jesuits*; but afterwards betook himself to the Study of the Law, in which he arrived to a good Perfection, and was employed by many *Protestants*, so that he knew the weak Part of their Titles. Every
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Body knows how great a Part the Attorney General has in the Administration of Justice, it being his Office to prosecute, and in his Power to stop any Suit wherein the King is concerned. How he used this Power will appear in one Instance, though many may be given. One *Fitz-Gerald* of *Tychoran*, the Heir of a forfeiting *Papist*, had a Suit for a great Estate against Sir *William Petty*; it was tryed in the *Exchequer* before Chief Baron *Rice*, and *Fitz-Gerald* carried the Cause by the Perjury of two Friars, and a Woman, who swore a Person to be dead in *Spain*, and themselves to be present at his Burial, upon whose Life Sir *William's* Title depended. This Person soon after appeared to be alive, and his being alive was so notorious and manifest, that the Attorney General could not deny it: Sir *William's* Counsel and Lawyers designed to indict the Friars and Woman for their Perjury, but the Grand Jury refused to find the Bill; and I was credibly informed, that the Attorney General said, that if they did not desist, he would enter a *Noli prosequi*. It is certain he refused to prosecute it, and it was imputed to his Contrivance, that they escaped. By such Means the Course of Justice was stopped to *Protestants*; and the like Tenderness the Courts generally shewed to Perjurers, when the Perjury served their Interest. And sure the *Protestants* were in an ill Case, whose Lives and Fortunes lay at the Mercy of such Judges and Juries. The same Sir *Richard Nagle* was the Speaker of the House of Commons in their pretended Parliament, and had the chief Hand in drawing up their Acts; King *James* confided chiefly in him: And the Acts of Repeal and Attainder were looked on as his Work; in which his Malice and Jesuitical Principles prevailed so far, that he was not content to oust two Thirds of the *Protestant* Gentlemen of their Estates by the Act of Repeal, (by which all Estates acquired in 1641, were taken away) and to attaint most of those that had old Estates by the Bill of Attainder: But to make sure Work, he put it out of

the King's Power to pardon them ; therein betraying the King's Prerogative, as the King himself told him, when he discovered it to him. Of which and of him we shall have Occasion to give a further Account hereafter.

It was common for some of those that served King *James*, to come upon the Exchange, and without any Reason or Provocation to fall upon *Protestant* Gentlemen, if they looked a little more fashionable than other People, and beat them. One was thus beaten with a Cane severely, before the Gentleman was aware ; he was advised for an Experiment to indict the *Russian* that used him thus, to see what Protection the Law would give us after they had taken away our Swords ; but the Grand Jury did not think it worth while to trouble the Courts with redressing the Grievances of *Protestants*, and so would not find the Bill. A Merchant in *Thomas-street, Dublin*, found a Fellow that had broken into his Warehouse, and was conveying his Goods out at the Window to his fellow Soldiers that stood in the Street to receive them ; he seized him and brought an Indictment against him for Felony, but the Jury acquitted him ; and then he brought his Action against the Merchant for false Imprisonment and Slander, and it cost a good Sum of Money to compound the Matter. This Trick was very common ; and at last, no *Protestant*, though he had ever so good Evidence against a *Papist*, durst prosecute him ; for he was sure to be acquitted, and then the Prosecutor was liable to the Revenge of an Action of the Case, and the Damages that a *Popish* Jury pleased to give against him.

There is an Act of Parliament, 10 *Henric. vii. c. 12.* That forbids keeping Guns or Ordnance without License from the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy. The Design of it was to prevent the *Irish* from fortifying themselves in their little Castles, whereby at that Time they created the Government great Trouble, and raised daily Rebellions. But the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent* in-

interpreted this to the disarming of all *Protestants*; and because there chanced to be a Sword and Case of Pistols found, *September 6, 1689*, in some outward by-place in *Christ Church, Dublin*, one *Wolf* the Subverger was committed to *Newgate*, indicted and found guilty, and had good Luck to escape with his Life, the Chief Justice declaring it was Treason, though *Wolf* was only indicted for a Misdemeanour.

It is plain, the Officers employed by King *James* in *Ireland*, both Civil and Military, were unqualified and uncappable by Law, of those Employments. If Lord *Tirconnell* (for Instance) claimed Subjection of us by the Laws, I do not see why he should expect the People to be better Observers of the Laws than he was. Suppose that it was against the Law for them to resist him, it was likewise against the Law that he should command them; if he dispensed in one Case, they only dispensed in the other: And in this Case it was as lawful for the one to dispense as the other.

But King *James* was resolved to venture all, and, as many of his Favourites expressed it, 'would not be a 'Slave to the Laws,' and therefore endeavoured to be their Master. In *England* he granted without any apparent Necessity, nay against not only the Interest and Safety of the Kingdom, but even to his own Prejudice, several Dispensations: But these passed in some Colour or Form of Law, and many of them at least passed the Offices and Seals; but in *Ireland* they did not trouble themselves with these Formalities. A verbal Command from the King was a sufficient Dispensation to all Laws made in favour of a *Protestant*; the Officers acted, and the Courts judged, as if there had been no such Laws in being. Here the Dispensations went much higher than in *England*, even to dispensing with the Laws against robbing and taking away Property; for if King *James* had a mind to any thing, he sent an Officer with a File of Musqueteers, and fetched it away, without considering the Owners; and to shew us, that his Commands were not merely pretended by
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these Officers (which I confess often happened) when they did such illegal Things, the King himself to shew, I say, that it was his determinate Resolution to act thus, did sometimes send Orders under his Hand to take away many Things of great Value without offering any Restitution or Satisfaction to the Owners.

Many Instances of this kind may be given: I shall only mention one, because it made some Noise. A Grant, in Nature of a Lease, with a reserved Rent to the Crown, was made by King *Charles II.* to some of his Courtiers, as a Gratuity for considerable Services; whereby the sole Liberty to coin Copper Money in the Kingdom of *Ireland* for one and twenty Years was given to them. This Grant was purchased at a dear Rate from the Grantees by Sir *John Knox* Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, and was renewed not without great Trouble and Charges to him by King *James*, after his Accession to the Crown. When he came into *Ireland*, he found this Grant in the Hands of Colonel *Roger Moor*, to whom it came by way of Legacy from the Purchaser. King *James* designing to set up a Brass Mint, sent for this Grant, and had it strictly canvassed, to see if any Flaw could be found in it: None could be found, nor would the Colonel be persuaded to give it up. The King therefore commanded it to be laid aside, and his own Mint to be proceeded on, without regard to it. But having Occasion for the coining Tools and Engines belonging to this, without consulting the Owner, or enquiring whether he was willing to part with them, he sent and seized on them violently, forcing open the Doors, and taking away Things to a considerable Value. Colonel *Moor* petitioned for Redress, or at least some Consideration for his Loss, but his Petition was rejected without being heard. Such Proceedings were common, and shew us plainly what a weak Barrier Laws are against a Person who designs absolute Power, and who believes, according to our Act of Recognition, ' That the De-

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‘ cision in all Cases of a misused Authority by a law-
 ‘ ful hereditary King, must be left to the sole Judg-
 ‘ ment of God.’

I have already taken notice how King *James* disposed the Military Offices, in such a Method, as must unavoidably ruin the *Protestant* Interest in *Ireland*; it was not altogether so easy to oust Men of their Civil Employments, as of their Military. Because many had Patents for Life, or good Behaviour. Because some of the Offices themselves were so difficult to be managed, that it was not easy to find *Roman Catholics* capable of discharging them; yet it appeared necessary, in order to ruin the *Protestants* that they should be turned out of them; and therefore King *James* and his Ministers resolved to do it as fast as they could. As soon as they could find a *Papist* that would or durst undertake them, they put him in; and they plainly declared, that no *Protestant* after a little while should have any Office of Trust or Profit left in his Hands. Some Offices they disposed of without more ado, by new Patents, and put the Patentee in Possession, without taking notice that there was another Patent in being, leaving the former Proprietor to bring his Action at Law if he pleased. Thus they served Sir *Charles Meredith*, for his Chancellorship of the *Exchequer*; and thus they served Sir *John Topham*, and Sir *John Coghill*, for their Masterships of the *Chancery*. And the Inferior Bodies of Cities learned this Trick from them, and by it turned out their *Protestant* Records, even before their new Charters. Some Officers that claimed a Title to their Offices by Law, were not allowed a legal Trial: But the Chancellor called them before him, and on a private Hearing, turned them out. Thus he served Mr. *Charles Baldwin*, one of the Examinators of the *Chancery*.

But to proceed by Retail seemed tedious; and therefore to make short Work, and rid their Hands of *Protestant* Civil Officers at once, as they had done of the Military, they made an Act in their pretended Par-

Parliament, to void all Patents for Offices during Life or good Behaviour, though granted by King *James* himself, and though the *Protestants* had laid out their Fortnnes to purchase them by King *James's* own Consent and Permission, as many had done. Now let the World judge what a Step the Disposol of these Offices was, to the Destruction of *Protestants*, when some of them were of such Consequence, that an unfaithful Officer in them might undo many, by destroying their Evidences for their Estates: In what Condition must *Protestants* be, when the Records, by which they held their Estates, were put into the Hands of those who were their Adversaries in the Claim, and had nothing to bar them but these Records, of which they were now made Keepers, who had often before shocked the *Protestant* Titles, by setting up counterfeit Deeds, nay, and corrupting the Records themselves, even whilst *Protestants* had the keeping of them; of which, the Records in the common Pleas Office, were an unanswerable Evidence, counterfeit Judgments being entered there, to the Sum of one thousand Pounds, by the Treachery of corrupting *Papists*.

The next sort of Officers were such as were concerned in the Revenue; these were, many of them, during Pleasure. The Revenue had for five or six Years last past been managed by Commissioners to very great Advantage. They had got under them a Set of very sharp and severe Officers: Many of which having been formerly concerned in Trade themselves, knew all the Arts of cheating the King, in his Duties, and were able to discover them; and he who was most acute and made greatest Advantage for the King, was sure to keep his Place, and to be advanced. It was hard to find a Set of Commissioners and Officers that could serve the King in his Revenue at the Rate these Persons did; and therefore they were forced to be slow in changing them: Yet they did it by Degrees, and with such Circumstances, as plainly discovered that they were resolved, as soon as

as was possible, to employ *Roman Catholics* only. To do them Justice, they generally owned it; and when any of them had a Friend to prefer to an Office in the Revenue, his Argument to remove the *Protestant* Possessor usually was, ' This Man must be removed, and ' why not now ? ' As the *Popish* Bishop of *Elphin* wrote to Sir *Patrick Trant* from *Galloway*, in order to remove a *Protestant* Gauger employed there. In most Places they turned out the *Protestant* Collectors and Officers, and put in their *Popish* Friends, though much to the King's Loss, as it often proved, and as they themselves knew it would be, and did not scruple to own it. Their new Collectors, either being so ignorant as not to make the best of their Places, or so very corrupt that they run away with the Money when collected, as it happened at *Clonmell*; or so abused their Trust, that they were obliged to change no less than five or six at a Time, King *James* himself declaring publicly, that they deserved to be hanged. That there remained any *Protestants* employed in the Revenue, was plainly from their not having Time enough to train up others in their Room, and not from their Intentions to continue *Protestants* in it; to whom they envied even the hated Office of being Publicans.

The third sort of Officers in the Kingdom are such, as have Trust or Honour annexed to them, but little Profit; of this sort I reckon Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace. It was no easy matter to find *Roman Catholics* to put into these Offices, and it was a most provoking Sight to *Protestants*, to see with what kind of Men they supplied them: They were forced to rake into the very Skum and Sink of the People, to find a few to sit on the Bench, as I shewed before; Men without Freehold, without Sense, and without Honesty, were made Sheriffs; and yet they were forced to continue most of them two Years, not being able to find in some Counties any *Roman Catholic*, that could pretend to be capable of such an Employment. Thus

in the County of *Tyrone*, *Turlogh O Donnelly* served two Years as Sheriff, who had not one foot of Freehold; and for his Honesty, you may guess at it by this Story, which is notoriously true: His Son had stolen some Bullocks from his Neighbour Mr. *Hamilton* of *Callidon*, and brought them to his Father the Sheriff's House: Some of them were killed and eaten in the House. The Owner pursued and found the Remainder, which were restored; and to compound the Matter, a Bond of sixteen Pounds was entred into by the Sheriff for such as were eaten; and if I remember right, a Warrant of Attorney for Judgment. When he came to *Dublin* to pass his Accounts as Sheriff, he was sued for the Money; but to avoid the Suit, he listed himself a Foot Soldier in the Lord *Maguire's* Company, and pretended he was enlisted in the Company two or three Days before the Arrest; which my Lord likewise vouched, though really he was not enlisted till after the Arrest or Execution. Upon which the Attorney that took out the Action or Execution, I do not remember which, and the Person to whom he owed the Money, were brought into great Trouble, and forced to abscond for violating the Privilege of the Army; and obliged for Peace sake to depart from their Claim. We had many such Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace; and to demonstrate that they designed to oust Protestants of all Power, there was not one *Protestant* Sheriff in all *Ireland*, for the Year 1687. Nay, it was designed, that not one *Protestants* should sit on the Bench as Justice of Peace; and the Design in a great Measure effected; not indeed by revoking their Commissions, but by making it impossible for them to act. It was now almost a necessary Qualification to preserve a Man in his Place, to change or dissemble his Religion; and some did worse, that is, betrayed it by their Compliance, whilst yet they professed it. Many who would not be guilty of such Servility, were turned out even from the mean Employments of a high or petty Constable, of a Gaoler or Turn-key; of all which it were easy to

to give Examples; but the Thing being universal, makes that unnecessary.

I reckon as a fourth Sort of Officers in the Kingdom, such as were of the Privy Council, which in *Ireland* is a great Part of the Constitution, and has considerable Privileges and Power annexed to it. Regularly no Act of Parliament can pass in *Ireland*, till the chief Governor and Privy Council do first certify the Causes and Reasons of it. It was therefore necessary that King *James* should model this to his Mind; and he quickly ordered it so, that the *Papists* made the Majority in it; and whereas before it was a Refuge and Sanctuary to the Oppressed, it now became a most effectual Instrument to strengthen the *Popish* Interest, and give Reputation to their Proceedings. We may guess what kind of Government King *James* designed, when he was attended with such a Council; and yet it is certain, even some of these who were *Protestants* would have been turned out, if they had not absented themselves, and declined appearing at the Board; but whether they appeared or no, was of no Consideration, since it is plain they could do *Protestants* little Service.

Not contented with these oppressive Methods, King *James*, effectually to destroy his *Protestant* Subjects, altered the very Nature of the Government, by subverting the Order of Corporations.

Whoever knows the Constitution of *England* and *Ireland*, must observe that the Subjects have no other Security for their Liberties, Properties, and Lives, excepting the Interest they have of chusing their own Representatives in Parliament. This is the only Barrier they have against the Encroachments of their Governor; take it away, and they are as absolute Slaves to the King's Will, and as miserable as the Peasants in *France*. Whoever therefore goes about to deprive them of this Right, utterly destroys the very Constitution and Foundation of the Government. The *Protestants* of *Ireland* finding the Necessity of securing this Right
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in their own Hands, to preserve the Kingdom in Prosperity and Peace, had procured many Corporations to be founded, and built many considerable corporate Towns at their own Cost and Charges. They thought it reasonable to keep these in their own Hands, as being the Foundation of the Legislative Power; and therefore secluded *Papists*, as Enemies to the *English* Interest in *Ireland*, from Freedom and Votes in them by the very Foundation and Rules of planting them. This Caution they extended by a Law, to all other Corporations in the Kingdom, excluding *Papists* likewise from them, which they justly did, if we remember that these *Papists* had forfeited their Rights in them, by their Rebellion in 1641; and by their having turned those Towns, where they had Interest, into Nests of Traitors against the King, and into Places of Refuge for the Murderers of the *English*; insomuch, that it cost *England* some Millions to reduce them again into Obedience; witness *Kilkenny*, *Waterford*, *Gallway*, *Lymeryc*, and every other Place where they had Power to do it. Add to this, that generally the trading industrious Men of the Kingdom were *Protestants*, who had built most of the corporate Towns (above thirty at once in King *James* the First's Time) and a great Part of the Freeholds of the Kingdom did also belong to Men of the same Religion: Insomuch that if a fair Election had been allowed, in Probability, no *Papist* could have carried it in any one County of *Ireland*. All which considered, it was but reasonable that the *Protestants* that had by so much Blood and Treasure, brought the Kingdom into Subjection to the Laws of *England*, and planted it in such a Manner, as to render it worth the Governing by the King, should be secured of their Representatives in Parliament; especially when out of their great Loyalty, and Confidence in the King's kind Intention to them, they, by some new Rules had condescended, that none should officiate as Mayors, Portreves, Magistrates, or Sheriffs in the chief Towns, till approved by the King's chief Governor for the

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Time being. Their yielding this to the King was a sufficient Security, one would have thought, to the Royal Interest. A great Diminution of their Liberties, and such as never was yielded before to any King; but this would not serve King *James*; to be absolute, he must have the entire Disposition of them, and the Power to put in and turn out whom he pleased, without troubling the Formalities of Law. To bring them therefore to this, it was resolved to dissolve them all. *Tyrconnel* knew, that the *Protestants* would never give up their Charters, without being compelled by Law: And therefore, he endeavoured to prevail with them to admit *Papists* to Freedom and Offices in them, that by their Means he might have them surrendered; but the Resolution of Sir *John Knox*, then Lord-Mayor of *Dublin*, and of the then Court of Aldermen, spoiled that Design, and forced the King to bring *Quo Warranto*'s against them, since they would not easily consent to destroy themselves.

The Chief Baron *Rice*, and the Attorney General *Nagle*, were employed as the fittest Instruments to carry on this Work. To prevent Writs of Error into *England*, all these *Quo Warranto*'s were brought into the *Exchequer*; and in about two Terms, Judgments were entered against most Charters. Whereas, if either Equity or Law had been regarded, longer Time ought to have been allowed, in Matters of such Consequence, for the Defendants to draw up their Plea, than the Chief Baron undertook to dispatch the whole Cause, and seize their Franchises. Attorney General *Nagle* played all the little Tricks that could be thought of; and had an ordinary Attorney brought such Demurrers or Pleadings into Court, in a common Cause, as he did in this most weighty Affair of the Kingdom; he would have received a public Rebuke, and been struck out of the Roll for his Knavery or Ignorance. After all, there was not one Corporation found to have forfeited by a legal Trial; neither was any Crime or Cause of Forgery, objected against them; yet the

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Chief Baron gave Judgment against an hundred Charters, or thereabouts, upon such little Exceptions and pitiful Cavils, that it must be the greatest Affront to the Understanding of Mankind, to think to put such on them for Justice; and the greatest Profanation of the Name of Law, to endeavour to pass such Proceedings for legal. Admit that a Corporation, which is an invincible Body in Law, could do any Thing to destroy its own Being, or that it were reasonable it should be divested of a particular Privilege, which it has manifestly abused; or when, by Alteration of Circumstances, such a Privilege becomes a Prejudice to the Public; as it sometimes happens: Yet to dissolve all the Corporations in a Kingdom; without the least Reason or Pretence of Abuse of Privilege or Forfeiture, to take Advantage from the Ignorance of a Lawyer, or the Mistake of a Clerk, nay, to pretend these when really there is no such Thing, is such an Abuse of the King's Prerogative and the Law, that it is enough to make the People, oppressed by Colour of them, to hate both, at least to wish the Administration of them in other Hands; and this was clearly the Case of the Corporations in *Ireland*. The City of *Dublin* was not allowed so much Time to put in their Plea as was really sufficient to transcribe it, as it ought to have been. The Clerk mistakes the Date of one of their Charters; they pray leave to mend it; this is denied them, and the Chief Baron gives Judgment. The same Term the Charter of *Londonderry*, in which the City of *London* was so deeply concerned, was condemned on a yet more frivolous Pretence. And upon the like wrangling Cavils were the rest dissolved; except a few which were on Noblemen's Estates. Some of these Noblemen employed *Roman Catholic* Agents or Receivers; who so managed their Estates for them, as chiefly to encourage *Papists*, and now became the Instruments to betray their Corporations. Those Agents employed the Power and Interest they had amongst their Masters

Masters Tenants, by Threats and Intrigues, to procure Surrenders; and by these Means, some few were influenced. Thus one *Potter*, a *Papist*, employed as a Receiver by the Earl of *Kildare*, betrayed his Lord, and prevailed with *Athy*, and some other Corporations, on his Estate to surrender.

Whether they did not think fit to destroy the Charters upon their usual and trivial Pretence of defective Pleading, there they found out other Expedients, without Trial, to destroy them. And that was, by granting a new Charter (as in the Case of *Bangor* in the County of *Down*) to such Men as the Attorney General thought fit; who by the Sheriff should be put in Possession of the Government of the Town, and then if the former Possessors thought themselves injured, they might bring their Actions against the Intruders: In the Trial of which, they had Reason to expect no more Fairness, than they found in the Proceedings against their Charters.

This Contrivance, of superseding a former Charter by granting a new one, served to very good Purpose. There were many particular Charters granted to Corporations in the City of *Dublin*. Such were the Corporations of Taylors, Skinners, Feltmakers, &c. where they refused to surrender, they got a few of the Trade to take out a new Charter, by which *Papists* were constituted Masters and Wardens; and as soon as they had taken it out, they committed to Prison such of the antient Members as would not submit to them.

Every body dreaded the Effects of these Proceedings; the Gentry considered that they held their Estates by Patents from the King; and the Title was no stronger than that of the Charter. And if Men were ousted of their Privileges and Freedoms by such Tricks and Shadows of Law, they began to fear that one Day or other the like might be found to vacate their Patents.

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As soon as the Corporations came to be supplied with new Charters, it plainly appeared that no *English* or *Protestant* Freeman could expect a comfortable Life in *Ireland*; for in the first Place the Corporations were made absolute Slaves to the King's Will, it being one Clause in all the new Charters, that the King's chief Governor should have Power to turn out, or put in whom he pleased, without giving any Reason, and without any Form or legal Proceeding; by which the Corporations were so much in the King's Power, that he might with as much Reason have named his Regiment of Guards, a free Parliament, as the Burgessees returned by such Elections. The whole Kingdom had therefore Reason to resent such Proceedings, as being absolutely destructive to their Liberties; but more especially the *English Protestants*; for it plainly appeared in the second Place, that all this Regulation was more immediately designed for their Destruction. The Persons every where named for Aldermen and Burgessees of the new Charters being above two thirds *Papists*, some few *Protestants* were kept in for Form sake, that they might not seem absolutely to discountenance them; and to avoid discovering their Designs of turning them out of all: But yet so few, in comparison of the *Papists*, that they were incapable of doing either Good or Hurt. And when they saw that they must be insignificant, they generally declined serving at all. The *Papists* employed, were commonly the most inveterate and exasperated Persons against *Protestants* and their Interest, that could be found. Many of them never saw the Corporations for which they were named; they were never concerned in Trade or Business; many of them were named for several Corporations, because they wanted Men qualified as they would have had them, to make up the Number of Aldermen or Burgessees.

The *Protestants* foresaw very well, what they were to expect from Corporations thus settled; and a great many of the richest trading Citizens, removed themselves

selves and their Effects into *England*. The Gentry likewise endeavoured to make Provisions for themselves there ; and such as could compass Money laid it out in *England*, and fled after it, to avoid the Storm they saw coming on *Ireland*. The Truth is, it was intolerable to them to live under the Government of their Footmen and Servants, which many must have done, had they staid ; and they could not but dread a Parliament, that should not only be Slaves to the King's Will, who they saw was bent to settle *Popery* at any rate, but which must consist of Members that they knew to be their inveterate and hereditary Enemies, who would not stick to sacrifice the Liberties and Laws of the Kingdom to the King's Will, so they might procure from him Revenge on the *Protestants*, and turn them out of their Estates. For what would they stick at, that were so servile as to accept such precarious Charters ? They saw in this their own Ruin designed ; and the Event has shewn that they were not mistaken ; perhaps no King in the World, much less a King who had been obliged in so high a Manner as King *James* had been by his *Protestant* Subjects, did ever take so much Pains to ruin his Friends, or condescend to such mean Acts as he did to ruin us.

Trade is of so great Advantage to a Kingdom, and the Profit it brings to the *Exchequer* is so considerable, that it is hardly credible that any King should contrive to destroy it in his own Kingdom ; and yet King *James* has given us just Reason to conclude, that he designed the Ruin of it in all his Kingdoms, at least was well pleased with it.

It was pretended by many of King *James's* Officers, that it was more for the King's Advantage to have his Subjects poor than rich : ' For, said they, you see how ' willing the poor *Irish* are to enlist themselves for ' Soldiers for two Pence a Day, who know no better ' Way of Living : But it were impossible to bring the ' rich Churles of *England* (so they usually called them) ' from their Farms and Shops on such Terms, to serve

'the King.' They further alledged, that the Poverty of the generality of *France* is the Reason that they are so willing to be Soldiers, and makes them so easily maintained when they are enrolled. Upon such destructive Maxims did they found their Design of ruining Trade in these Kingdoms.

But whatever be said to be the general Design, it is certain King *James* ruined the Trade of *Ireland*, in Prosecution of his Purpose of destroying the *Protestants* there. The Money and Wealth circulated in their Hands, and few others had either Stock, Understanding or Credit to carry on a Trade besides them. They innocently imagined, if there had been no other Reason, that this alone would have prevailed with the then Government, to have permitted them to live secure, easy and quiet; but they quickly found, that King *James* and his Ministers would rather have had no Trade at all in the Kingdom, than it should be in the Hands of *Protestants*. Merchants have generally their Stock in Moveables, so that it is easy for them to transport themselves and their Effects into another Country, if they find themselves uneasy in their own. And sure the *Protestant* Merchants could not be easy in Towns which they had formerly governed, and in which they were now subjected to mean inconsiderable People, many of which had formerly been their own menial Servants, but now advanced to the Honour of being Magistrates, treated their late Masters with such Affronts and Abuses, as are intolerable to free Men, and which, as *Solomon* observes, make even wise Men mad.

One Thing, that more peculiarly ruined the *Protestant* Trade, was this; the King's Revenue in *Ireland* was so considerable a Part of each Man's Estate, that most of the current Coin in the Kingdom came into the Treasury once a Year, either for Hearth-Money, Crown-Rents, or some other Duties. And the King having turned *Protestants* out of all profitable Employments, and out of the Army, and put in *Papists*, his Revenue

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was payed out again to them, and ought to have circulated indifferently amongst his Subjects, as it used to do. But so great was the Malice of these new Officers to *Protestants*, that they combined amongst themselves, to let them have as little of it as was possible; and therefore, wherever they could lay it out with one of their own Religion they did it. And very few *Protestants* ever received a Groat of their Money. When they wanted Money they came to the *Protestant* Shops, where they abused, and affronted, and terrified them, if they refused to trust; calling them Dogs, Whigs, Rebels, and Traitors, swearing with many Oaths, that they would be revenged on them. But if they had ready Money, though they had been formerly Customers to *Protestants*, and in their Books, they never came near them any more. This Practice was so universal amongst them, that even the Women learned it; particularly the Lady *Tyrconnel's* Daughters: For thus the Lady *Ross* and her Sister *Dillon* treated several Shop-keepers, because their Servants refused to trust. By the like Rudeness the Exchange was entirely ruined; neither Buyers nor Sellers being able to keep in it, by Reason of the Insolencies of the new *Papish* Officers, who walked in it, affronted, and assaulted every Body, or extorted their Goods from them for nothing, the Shop-keepers not daring to refuse to trust them. By this Means the rich Shop-keepers were driven away, and most of the considerable Shops shut up, even in the principal Streets of the City, long before we heard any News of the Prince of *Orange*. As soon as the Earl of *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, there was almost a Desolation in the Town; and there were at least fourteen or fifteen Trades that had nothing to do; the Government knew very well that this would be the Effect of their Proceedings, and that the Trades, Manufactures, and Improvements of the Kingdom must cease, if they went on at the Rate they did; but they were so far from being concerned at it, that they rather seemed well pleased with it.

To hurt it still more, they suffered and connived at the Transportation of our Wool to *France*; a Thing so fatal to *England* as well as to *Ireland*, that the Law has made it Felony to be punished with Death. The new Mayor of *Gallway*, Mr. *Kyrowan*, was caught in the very Fact; and the Delivery of a considerable Cargo, sent by him into *France*, was fully proved; for which he ought to have been hanged: But the Lord Deputy, *Tyrconnel*, notwithstanding all his Oaths and pretended Displeasure, when the Mischief of it was laid before him, quickly shewed this to be only a Copy of his Countenance; for he not only granted him a Pardon, and remitted his Forfeiture of about 10,000*l.* but, as a further Mark of his Favour, he continued him in his Mayoralty for another Year. Thus the Trade of the Kingdom was ruined, and the *Protestants*, who with vast Hazard and Charge carried it on, had it laid to their Choice whether they would stay here and starve, or remove themselves to another Kingdom; and I believe no body will wonder, if they had no great Affection for a Government that designedly brought this Hardship upon them.

Having advanced thus far, he proceeded to deprive his *Protestant* Subjects of the Freedom which by the Right of Nature they were entitled to enjoy, in common with other Men.

There is no worldly Thing more valuable to Man than *Liberty*; many prefer it to Life; and few can live long without it. It is the Darling of our Laws, and there is nothing of which they are more tender. But the *Protestants* of *Ireland*, from the very Beginning of King *James's* Reign, had their Liberties invaded, and at last entirely destroyed. It was observable, that at his Coming to the Crown he made no Proclamation for a general Pardon, as had been usual with Kings; neither did he pass any Act of Grace in his first Parliament, which gave a fair Opportunity to the *Papists* of *Ireland*, to revenge themselves on their *Protestant* Neighbours. No sooner had they gotten Judges
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and Juries that would believe them, but they began a Trade of swearing, what they pretended their Neighbours had said of his late Majesty, whilst Duke of York, some Years before, especially in the Time of the *Popish Plot*. The new Justices of the Peace were eager to exercise their Offices, and therefore, on the slightest Occasion, bound over and committed their *Protestant* Neighbours, many times without any Reason at all, at least without any given in their Warrants: It was Time enough to invent some against the next Assizes. There never wanted Evidence enough to accuse a Man; the very Priests being forward to encourage such Perjuries as were to the Prejudice of *Protestants*. Of this there are several Instances on Record in the Courts of Justice; where we find them sometimes swearing Falshoods themselves, and sometimes encouraging others to do it. Of which the Courts, even in spite of all their Partiality, were satisfied. I gave one Example before in Sir *William Petty's* Case. There is another of Mr. *Balfours* in the County of *Fermanagh*, where the false Affidavit of one *Hultaghan*, a Priest, had almost destroyed his Cause, and lost him a considerable Estate.

Upon this Account Perjuries became so common, that if a Tenant owed his *Protestant* Landlord his Rent, he payed him by swearing him into a Plot, or by fixing on him some treasonable or seditious Words. If a *Papist* had any former Quarrel with his *Protestant* Neighbour, or owed him Money, he paid him in the same Coin. Many were indicted by these Contrivances; many found guilty, and excessively fined; some were imprisoned for their Fines, not being able to satisfy the King, who seized both their Bodies and Estates. Hardly any County in *Ireland* was free from numerous Indictments of this Kind, and very few Country Gentlemen escaped being accused. Great Numbers were indicted and found guilty in the Counties of *Wexford* and *Wicklow*, to the Number at least of sixty; the most considerable Gentlemen in the County
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of *Meath* were indicted, but had better Luck ; the Perjury of their Accusers being made so manifest, that even a *Popish* Bench had not the Confidence to countenance it, nor a *Popish* Jury to find it. Thus Mr. *Meredith*, Mr. *Parry*, Mr. *Cbetwin*, a Minister, and several others, escaped, having discovered the very Bottom of a wicked Contrivance, to carry on a Trade of Swearing against all the Gentlemen in the Country ; but though they discovered it, yet they durst not prosecute it, by reason of some Priests being concerned in it, and of the Discountenance of the Courts ; a great many in the County of *Tipperary* were likewise brought into Trouble, but escaped the first Time by a kind of Miracle ; one of the Jurors being so maliciously bent against them, that he swore he would die before he would acquit them, it happened to him according to his own Desire, for he fell dead in the Place, whilst they were disputing about returning the Verdict, which saved the Gentlemen for that Time. Yet this did not discourage their Prosecutors, they caused them to be indicted anew, and upon their second Trial *Justin Macarty* (afterwards made Lord *Mountcashell* by King *James*) came into the Court, threatened and hectorred Sir *John Mead*, who then sat as Judge for the Duke of *Ormond* (it being within his Grace's Palatinate) because he would not direct the Jury to find them guilty ; but Sir *John* stood his Ground, and declared, that there was no sufficient Evidence against them ; upon which they were acquitted. It vexed them, that they could not bring their *Popish* Judges and Sheriffs into that County, as they did into the rest of *Ireland*, by reason that the Nomination of them was in his Grace, as Lord of the Regalities ; and, therefore, in their pretended Parliament, they not only attainted him, but likewise, by a particular Act, dissolved his Principality. Their first Plot against the Gentlemen of the Country having miscarried, they began a second, and got Depositions against several ; but they were as unlucky in this as in the first. They laid the Scheme of
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their Affairs so unskilfully, that the Witnesses swore, that the Gentlemen met to carry on their Plot at *Nenagh*, a Place above sixty Miles from *Dublin*, on the same Day that some of them had been examined before the Council-board on the first Informations. This appearing to the Council by an Entry made in their own Books, it quashed the Design against them, and saved them a third Time. It would make a Volume to enumerate all the Particulars of this Nature.

The new Mayors and Justices of the Peace were no less troublesome to *Protestants* in their Employments; they made no Scruple to send their Tokens and Warrants for Persons of the best Quality. And wherever a *Papist* and *Protestant* had any Difference, there needed no more but a Complaint to procure a Commitment, and to be sure it was done with all the Indignity and affronting Circumstances imaginable. Sir *Thomas Hackett*, whilst Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, did so many base Things of this Nature, that it were endless to recount them; taking Example from the Lord *Tyrconnel*, who made him Mayor, he treated every body with Oaths, Curses, ill Names, and barbarous Language. The Lord Primate *Boyle's* Family could not escape his Warrants; he (or his Clerk, as he afterwards pretended) sent away one for Mr. *Francis Cuff*, and Mr. *Jephson*, who lived in my Lord's Family, being his Son-in-law and Nephew: Their Crime was, refusing to contribute to the Maintenance of two begging Friars; one of them was one *Magee*, a Debauchee and Renegado, who had the Impudence to have demanded it from my Lord Primate if he had been permitted Access. The Friars, vexed that they should be repulsed, procured a Warrant for the two Gentlemen that refused them, and attempted the Execution of it in my Lord Primate's House, with a Rabble of near two hundred. Sir *Thomas* was not content to execute his Authority within his own Precincts, but extended it where the Mayor's Power was never owned. He sent his Warrant and committed the Officers of *Christ-Church*,

Church, Dublin, to the Stocks, because he fancied they did not make the Bells ring *merrily enough* for the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*. It was in vain for the Officers to tell him, that their Church and Parsons were not subject to his Jurisdiction; that if the Bells did not ring *merrily enough*, as he alledged, it was the Ringers Fault, not theirs. That no body, besides his Lordship, could observe any such Thing in their Ringing. His brutish Passion would not give him Leave to hearken to Reason; but upon all Occasions he proceeded in the same Method; which made every body, that valued his Liberty, get out of his Power; and prevailed with a great many to leave their Estates and Concerns, and transport themselves, and what Effects they could carry with them into *England*. It was unsafe and uneasy living both in the City and in the Country, and he reckoned himself happy that could get out of them at any rate.

But when King *William* came into *England*, Things grew yet more troublesome. The *Protestants* were every where robbed and plundered. The new-commissioned Officers and their Soldiers, under the Name of *Rapparees*, committed many Outrages and Devastations on their *Protestant* Neighbours; insomuch that they could not be safe in their Houses. If any endeavoured to keep their Houses, though meerly to secure themselves from the Robbers and *Tories*, immediately they were besieged; and though they surrendered themselves as soon as summoned, having no Design to resist Authority, and put themselves into the Hands of King *James's* Officers, upon Promise of Freedom, nay, on Articles; yet afterwards they were imprisoned and prosecuted, as Mr. *Price* of *Wicklow*. Some of them condemned and executed; which happened to Mr. *Maxwel*, and one *Lewis*, in the *Queens County*. They thought it not safe to execute some till the War was over, and therefore only kept them in Prison. So Sir *Lawrence Parsons*, and many others were served.

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At last it came to a general Seizure, and almost all the *Protestant* Gentlemen, without Reason or Pretence of Reason, without so much as a Warrant or Form of Law, were put in Gaols under the Custody of mean and barbarous Guards, whose very Captains had had no better Education than that of Footmen or Cowherds; who exercised what Understanding they had, to invent new Methods of vexing their Prisoners. This general Confinement continued with most, from the middle of Summer, 1689, till Winter; and with some, till his Majesty's Victory at the *Boyne* set them all at Liberty: During all which Time no Reason or Ground of their Commitment was given; nor were *Habeas Corpus's* allowed them, though earnestly solicited. One indeed was allowed to Mr. *Thomas King*, a Minister, which being the only one that took place, it may be proper to give the Reader an Account of the Case. The Reason of his Commitment was really a Quarrel picked designedly with him by an Officer of the Guards, because he refused to admit one *Ambrose*, the *Popish* Quarter-master of the City, for a Godfather to a *Protestant* Child, whom he christened: In Revenge whereof the Officer intruded into his Company whilst at Meat, as was common with them, and would needs oblige him to drink Damnation and Confusion to the Prince of *Orange*; which he modestly declining, and alledging, that it was unfit for a Christian, much more for a Clergyman, to drink Damnation to any, the Officer hurried him away to *Newgate* by his own Authority, and after lying there till the Term his *Habeas Corpus* was allowed him. Upon the Return made by the Gaoler, the Court was so vexed at it, that they fined the Gaoler for making such a Return, but in earnest because he made any, for that was the Contrivance they had to keep People in Gaol: And after all he was still kept a Prisoner notwithstanding his *Habeas Corpus*, till most were bailed; and then upon Bail of five thousand Pounds he was permitted to go out: Under which Bail he continued, as all the rest did, under

the like Sums, till the general Deliverance. After this no more *Habeas Corpus's* were allowed. Most of the Prisoners towards the Depth of Winter were indeed bailed, and continued so from Term to Term, till the News of King *William's* Arrival, and then all were confined anew, notwithstanding their Bail, with some that had not been confined before. At the Hour when the last of King *James's* Forces were leaving *Dublin*, they were ordered to carry away four hundred Prisoners along with them; but the Officers were too much afraid of a Pursuit, and too busy in carrying off their own Baggage, to embarrass themselves with Prisoners; and therefore for a little Gold dismissed them. How the *Protestants* of *Drogheda*, who were all made Prisoners, were used, whilst the Town was surrounded, is not to be forgotten. They carried them to the Mount, where they expected the Cannon would play, tied them together, and set them to receive the Shot, if the Town had been attacked: But their Hearts failed them who were to defend it, and so it pleased God to preserve the poor *Protestants*, they being delivered, together with the Town, to his Majesty, upon Summons and Articles. The *Protestants* of *Cork*, and other Towns, were yet worse used; they were carried from their own Homes, to some remote Castles, and there kept without Conveniencies till many of them perished.

During their Confinement the Prisoners were kept very strictly, their Servants, Children, and Wives, were often debarred from seeing them; or, when admitted, not suffered to speak to them, but in Presence of the Soldiers. In *Dublin*, when they had filled the Gaols, the Hospitals, the College, and other Places of Confinement, they at last imprisoned the Citizens in Churches. They were crowded into stinking, nasty, unhealthy Rooms, sometimes twenty, sometimes forty in a Room. At the College, and at an House called *White Friars*, where there were many Prisoners, they put Barrels of Powder under them, threatening to blow

blow them up, if they should be prest, and not able to keep the Places. Colonel *Luttrel*, Governor of *Dublin*, denied indeed that this was done by his Order; but yet, when he was informed of it by Sir *John Davis*, then a Prisoner and Witness of it, he commended the Discretion of the Officer that did it. This Confinement did not only fall on Gentlemen, but also on the Clergy, nay, on the meanest Citizens. Whoever pleased had a Power to commit *Protestants*; and if at any Time they asked by what Authority they were committed? those that committed them made no other Answer than, that “*they committed them, let them get out as they could.*”

It may be thought that these Things were unknown to King *James*, and therefore are not to be imputed to him; but it is certain, that, if he did not contrive and order them, he yet consented to them, neither did he seem to have the least Resentment or Pity for their Sufferings, as appeared from his Carriage to the Bishop of *Lymrick*. His Lordship, by his Majesty's Command, on a particular Service waited often on him; he took one of those Opportunities that seemed most favourable, to lay before his Majesty the manifold Hardships which were put on the Clergy, and the *Protestants* in general, of his Diocese. He represented to him how they were first robbed of all, and then laid in Gaol; and that they had no way offended his Majesty, or disturbed his Government; and begged his Favour in their Behalf. His Majesty heard him, but made him no Answer; instead thereof, he fell into Discourse of another Affair, with a *Papist* that chanced to be by, and that with an Air more than ordinarily pleasant and unconcerned. Indeed his Majesty had, by one general Order and Proclamation, dated 26 *July*, 1689, confined all *Protestants*, without Distinction of Age or Sex, to their Parishes and Cities; and though their Occasions were such, that he very well knew that this alone, without any more, was a very great Encroachment on their Liberty, and a mighty Incon-

nience to their Affairs ; especially when it was continued without Reason or Limitation. No body knew when this would be relaxed ; and it was executed with great Strictness, till King *William's* Success put an End to it, and to the Power that imposed it.

But, lest these Hardships and Restraints should either be avoided by our Flight, or known in *England*, where King *James* had a Party to cry up the Mildness of his Government, and face down the World, that the *Protestants* lived easily and happily under him in *Ireland*, a most strict Embargo was laid on all Ships, and effectual Care taken to destroy all Correspondence with our Friends there : Insomuch that, to avoid a Gaol, great Numbers of Gentlemen and other Persons were forced to make their Escapes in small Wherries and Fishing-boats, which before these Times durst never venture out of the Sight of the Shore : But it seemed more tolerable to every body that could compass it, to cross the *Irish* Seas, so famous for their Boisterousness and Shipwrecks, in that hazardous Manner, than to continue under a Government where they could call nothing their own ; where it was in the Power of any that pleased, to deprive them of their Liberty ; where they durst not travel three Miles for fear of incurring the severest Penalties ; where they could not send a Letter to a Friend, though in the next Town, and about the most necessary Occasions ; and where, though never so cautious and innocent, they were sure at last to be sent to a Gaol. A Government that thus encroached on our Liberties, could not expect we should continue under it longer than we needs must ; and it had been unpardonable Folly in us not to desire, much more to refuse a Deliverance, especially from *England* : Which if Blood and Treasure, or a Possession of five hundred Years can give a Right to a Country, is justly intitled to the Government of *Ireland*. And which if it had no other Exception against King *James's* Government, but his Carriage towards *Ireland*, and his Attempts to separate it from its Dependence on *England*,

land, must be justified by all the World, in their laying him aside, as a Destroyer of his People, and a Disinheritor of the Crown of his Ancestors.

It is Property that makes Government necessary; and the immediate End of Government is to preserve Property; where therefore a Government, instead of preserving, intirely ruins the Property of the Subject, that Government dissolves itself. Now this was the State of the *Protestants* in *Ireland*: The Government deprived them contrary to Law and Justice (nay, for the most part, without so much as the Pretence of a Crime) of every Thing to which Persons can have a Property; even of the Necessaries of Life, Food and Rayment. To lay this more fully before the Reader, I will shew first, That King *James* took away the Arms of *Protestants*: Secondly, That he took away their Personal; and thirdly, Their Real Estates.

As for the Lord Deputy, he had clearly ruined his Credit (if ever he had any) amongst them, and they could never after be brought to give the least Belief to what he said; on the contrary they looked on it as a sure Sign, that a Thing was false if he earnestly affirmed it.

But it was not yet in his Power to master them; he had not sufficiently trained and exercised his Men; but as soon as he found that nothing was to be feared from *England* before the End of Summer, and that he was assured King *James* would be with him soon, he laid aside his Vizor, and fell upon disarming them: It was no difficult Matter to do this; for, in the very Beginning of King *James's* Reign, the *Protestant* Militia had been dissolved, and though they had bought their own Arms, yet they were required to bring them into the Stores, and they punctually obeyed the Order. Such of the *Protestant* Army as remained in the Kingdom after their cashiering were likewise without Arms, being, as I shewed before, both disarmed and stripped upon their being turned out. It was therefore a Wonder that the *Protestants* had any Arms at all, especially when

when it is to be remembered, that, during King *James's* Reign, they durst not be seen to buy or import them, being under the Jealousy and Suspicion of the Government: However some they had, enough to make the *Papists* afraid, and to beat them too, if they had had a little Assistance and Encouragement of Authority to attempt it. The Lord Deputy was therefore resolved to have their Arms; and, in order to get them, he drew nine or ten Regiments to *Dublin*, and a proportional Party to every Place where the Number of *Protestants* was considerable; and without the least Notice or Declaration premised, on the 24th of *February*, 1688, he took away their Arms and Horses throughout the whole Kingdom, except in the *North*, where he durst not yet attempt it. The Method of doing it in *Dublin* was this, he filled all the Streets and Lanes with Foot and Horse; and then, for so much of the City as lies within the Walls, he sent the City Officers to signify to every House, that, if they did not send in every Sword and Bayonet, as well as Fire-arms, in their Possession into the Churches, (which were generally seized for this Use, and filled with Soldiers) they should be left to the Mercy and Discretion of the Soldiers, both as to their Lives and Goods: This was perfect Dragooning to the *Protestants*; nor is it easy to express what a Consternation it caused amongst them; the Preparation at first looked like a Design to put in Execution (what they long feared) a general Massacre. While they had their Arms in their Hands, it gave them some Heart, resolving to sell their Lives dear; but, when they saw these now taken from them, this Support failed, and they had no Prospect of Defence, but generally imagined, that their Arms were taken away in order to the more easy Execution of the designed Massacre. They knew themselves to be the only Persons qualified by Law to keep or carry Arms; they knew the malicious Designs of the *Irish* against them; they considered how necessary their Arms were at this Time, not only to preserve their Goods, which were every Day robbed, and their Houses

Houses that were every Night broken open, but likewise to secure their Persons that were daily assaulted; and yet, to avoid this terrible Dragooning, they were forced to part with them, and immediately delivered in near 3000 Fire-arms, besides Swords, Bayonets, and Pikes, in *Dublin* only. At the same Time some hundreds of Horses were likewise taken, without any other Reason than that they belonged to *Protestants*. Without the Walls it was much worse than in the City; the Inhabitants there were not so much as required to bring in their Arms, but generally the Soldiers came and searched for them, on Pretence of which, five or six Parties after one another, without Method or Order, rifled the Houses: In many Places they pulled up the Boards of the Floors, broke down the Wainscots, stealing and plundering whatever they could lay their Hands on, and sometimes torturing the poor People to make them confess their Arms.

The next Day after this disorderly Dragooning came out a Proclamation, dated *February 25, 1688*, signifying that this disarming and taking away Horses was done by order of the Government, throughout all *Ireland*, there being only a verbal Order for it before, of which the *Protestants* knew nothing, and which the Proclamation contradicted; for wearing Swords were excepted in it, whereas the verbal Order is said to have mentioned them, and they were delivered with great Exactness before the Proclamation came out; for no body could hope to conceal them, it being known that every Gentleman had a wearing Sword, yet none were re-delivered to them, though demanded; and a second Proclamation published by King *James* himself, dated *July 20, 1689*, did expressly forbid all *Protestants* to wear or keep any Swords, under the Penalty of being counted Rebels and Traitors, and used as such; and, lest some should wear them and not be discovered, they beset all the Church-doors on *Sunday Morning, February 23, 1689*, whilst the *Protestants* were at their Devotion, to their great Terror, being ignorant of the Design;

Design; and the Soldiers searched every one whether he had a Sword or no.

But, to return to the general Disarming, though the *Protestants* lost in it their Horses and Arms, the King's Stores gained but little by them; for the Soldiers, who received the Arms, imbezzled all that were better than ordinary amongst them, conveying them away privately, and converting them to their own Use. The Arms of the Citizens were generally fine, and the Gentlemen's Swords were Silver, and the Soldiers that got them were wiser than to return such to the Stores. The Lord Deputy seemed angry that so few Arms were returned, imputed it to the Citizens as an Effect of their Obstinacy; and an Order was ready drawn for him to sign, wherein it was declared, that all *Protestants* with whom any Arms were found, should be given up to the Mercy of the Soldiers; so that there needed only some ill Fellows to come into an House, drop a Bayonet or a Sword in a Corner, and pretend to find it there, for the Soldiers to have rifled whom they pleased. Our Crime for which we lost our Arms, for which we were exposed naked to our Enemies, and for which the best Gentlemen in the Kingdom were obliged to walk without a Sword, was because they suspected, that we would not otherwise tamely part with our Goods, or suffer ourselves to be abused or affronted in the Streets by every Ruffian, which was the Condition of the best amongst us.

It is true, King *James* could not carry on a War for the Advancement of *Popery* without our Goods, and he could not be secure of them whilst we had Arms; but I hope all the World is convinced, that it was not our Councils nor Actions that brought him to those Straits; nor was it to be expected that we should be content to be undone, to repair the Errors and Faults of those wicked Counsellors, who put him on those desperate Courses which lost him his Crown. All our Crime was, then, that we could not be content to be undone with and by him, and rather chose to desire

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Protection, Liberty, and the Restitution of our Privileges, and Arms from King *William*, than to be in the Condition of the vilest of Slaves under King *James*; a Crime for which I am confident no *Papist* condemns us in his Conscience, however he may rail at and call us *disloyal*.

The Priests and Friars were no less oppressive than the Soldiers; they multiplied in *Dublin* to three or four hundred at the least; they were well fed and well cloathed; there were not more lusty plump Fellows in the Town than they, insomuch that they were remarkable for it; and, reckoning that they consumed but twenty Pounds a-piece one with another, which was the least, they cost the Town eight thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which is near four times more than all the *Protestant* Clergy in Town received. They built about fourteen Chappels and Convents in *Dublin*, and set up two Nunneries, all which came to a great Sum; and a great Part of it came out of the *Protestants* Pockets, for they were such experienced Beggars, that none escaped them, and so importunate that none durst refuse them; if any did, they must expect to be the next who were robbed, they must be content to be accused and committed, either on some secret Whisper, or false Accusation. The Insolence of the Friars may be guessed at by their Carriage to the Lord Primate *Boyle*: Two of them came to demand Money of him, and because he refused them, they procured a Warrant from Sir *Thomas Hacket*, to commit his Son-in-law and Nephew; but others were forced to buy their Peace by large Contributions to them.

The *Protestants*, by the Deputies taking away their Horses, and the Army their Cattle, were put out of a Possibility of living in the Country, or of making any thing of their Farms by Plowing or Grazing, and had saved nothing but their Household-Stuff and Money; only some of them, when they saw the *Irish* taking away their Cattle, slaughtered Part of them, barreled them up, and sent them to *Dublin*, and other

Towns; they preserved likewise their Hides and Tallow of the Year 1688, not having any Vent for them; and the Merchants upon the same Account were stored with such Commodities as used to be sent yearly into *England*, or foreign Parts: And many of these went out of the Kingdom for their own Safety, and left their Goods in the Hands of their Servants or Friends. Their going away, though they had License for it, and those Licenses not expired, was made a Pretence to seize their Goods; and in *March*, 1688, the Officers of the Army throughout the Kingdom, without any Law or legal Authority, by Order from the Lord Deputy, seized all Goods, Houses, Lands, &c. belonging to any who were out of the Kingdom; there was no other Reason given for this, but that it was the Deputy's Pleasure it should be so.

The Condition of those who staid behind was very little better, so many Contrivances were set on foot to ruin them, and take away the little Goods that were yet left them, that they were as effectually destroyed as their Neighbours that went for *England*: They knew that, besides Goods, the *Protestants* had some ready Money and Plate; their chief Aim was to come by them, and several Ways were thought of to effect it; sometimes they were for setting up a Mint, and for forcing every body to bring in on Oath to be coined whatever Plate was in their Possession; sometimes they were for searching Houses, and seizing all they found: But these Methods were looked on as too violent, and not likely to succeed; if they should put them in Practice: They therefore deferred these for the present, and applied themselves to the following Courses, by which they got from us a great Part of our Money, Plate and Goods; and, if our Deliverance had not been speedy, would infallibly have got the rest.

1st, They would pretend for a Sum of Money to procure License for a Ship to go off, and, when they had gotten the Money, and the People had shipped themselves and their Effects, they then ordered the
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Ship to be unloaded again, and seized all the Money and Plate they found, which had been privately conveyed on Shipboard, though not forfeited by any Law.

2d, They would take off the Embargo which was generally laid on Ships, and pretend they would suffer the Merchants to trade: And as soon as they had got the Custom-houses full of Goods, and received vast Rates for Custom, besides Bribes to the Officers that attended the Ships, they would put on the Embargo again, stop the Goods, and not return one Farthing.

3d, They promised Licenses for *England* to all who would pay for them; and, when they had gotten vast Sums from the Crowd that prest to get away, they would then stop the Ships, and make their Licenses useless: There was nothing to be done without a Bribe; at what Rate may be imagined from this, that an ordinary Tide-waiter, one *White* at *Rings-End*, was accounted to have gotten in Bribes, for conniving at People's going off, at least one thousand Pounds in a few Months.

4th, All *Protestants* that lived in the Country were forced to take out Protections; these were sold at great Rates, and it was not sufficient to buy them once, they were often voided, either by new Orders, or the Change of Governors; and then they were obliged to take them out anew: Some had Protections not only for their Goods, but likewise for some Arms and Horses, and renewed them five or six times, paying a good Rate for them every time; and yet at last they lost all their Horses, Arms, and Goods, as well as their Neighbours who had no Protections.

5th, Where they learnt any Man had Money, they seized him, on some Pretence or other; and if they found the Money, it was sufficient Evidence of his Guilt; they sent him to Gaol, and converted the Money to their own Use; at the worst, they knew it was only restoring it in Brass. Thus they served Mr. *Heuston* in *Bridgstreet*, and Mr. *Gabriel King* in the County of *Roscommon*, who could never get any Satisfaction

faction for his Silver and Plate thus taken from him ; and the Case was the same with many others.

6th, In several Places the Governors went into Men's Houses and Shops, and seized what they found, without the Formality of a Pretence, and took it away. *Cork* was used at this Rate ; their Governor, Monsieur *Boiseflot*, not failing in any Punctilio of his Country Dragooning ; and he is supposed to have sent off for *France* to the Value of thirty thousand Pounds in Money, Leather, and other Commodities ; the Spoils of the *Protestants* in that rich Town.

7th, The Parliament granted the King a Tax of twenty thousand Pounds *per* Month for thirteen Months, which the Kingdom could hardly have paid, if it had been in its most flourishing Condition ; but they knew it would fall most heavy on the *Protestants*, who must be forced to pay it out of their ready Money, having lost their Stocks generally by Plundering, and deprived of their Rents and Incomes.

All these Contrivances to get Money from *Protestants* did indeed impoverish them ; but, by their Industry and Charity to one another, they made a shift to subsist, and to keep something in reserve ; but the Contrivance of making Brass Money pass instead of Silver, and at an equal Value with it, was an utter and unavoidable Ruin to them : It is true, the Coining of Money is a Prerogative of the Crown, and the Reason of its being so, is to prevent its being adulterated, the King's Honour and Interest being the Engagement and Security for the Coin that bears his Impression. But sure the Meaning was not, that he should give a Value to what has no Value in itself ; otherwise the Cautiousness of our Forefathers was ridiculous, who would not allow the King by his Prerogative to raise Money, either by Loan or Subsidy, from the Subject ; since, if it be allowed, that he may set what Value he pleases upon Brass, he may have what he thinks fit from the Kingdom without troubling a Parliament. But King *James's* Council used not to stick at the Formalities

malities of Law or Reason, and therefore vast Quantities of Brass Money were coined, and made current by a Proclamation, dated *June* 18, 1689, under severe Penalties. The Metal of which this Money was made was the worst kind of Brass; old Guns, and the Refuse of Metals were melted down to make it; Workmen rated it at Three-pence or a Groat a Pound, which being coined into Six-pences, Shillings, or Half-crowns, one Pound-weight made about five Pounds; and, by another Proclamation in the Year 1690, the Half-crowns were called in, and, being stamped anew, were made to pass for Crowns; so that then 3*d.* or 4*d.* Worth of Metal made 10*l.* There was coined in all, from the first setting up of the Mint, to the Rout at the *Boyne*, being about twelve Months, 965,375*l.* In this Coin King *James* paid all his Appointments, and, all that received the King's Pay being generally *Papists*, they forced the *Protestants* to part with their Goods out of their Shops for this Money, and to receive their Debts in it: But the *Protestants* having only good Silver or Gold, and Goods bought with these, when they wanted any thing from *Papists*, they were forced to part with their Gold and Silver, having no Means of coming by the Brass Money out of the King's Hands; so that the Loss by the Brass Money did in a manner intirely fall upon the *Protestants*, being defrauded (for I can call it no better) of about 60,000*l.* per Month by this Stratagem, which must in a few Months utterly exhaust them. When the *Papists* had gotten most of their saleable Goods from their *Protestant* Neighbours, and yet great Quantities of Brass Money remained in their Hands, they began to consider how many of them, who had Estates, had engaged them to *Protestants* by Judgments, Statutes Staple and Mortgages. This was all the Reserve of their Fortunes left the *Protestants*; and, to take this likewise from them, they procured a Proclamation, dated *February* 4, 1689, to make the Brass Money current in all Payments whatsoever, whereas at first Judgments,

ments, &c. were excepted : Thus they rid themselves of their Brass Money, and put it on *Protestants*. The Chancellor *Fitton* compelling the Trustees, for Orphans and Widows, to receive their Mortgages, &c. in this Coin, as well as others, though they pleaded, that they knew not how to dispose of it, nor, if they did know, could they legally receive it, or make use of it, being only Trustees. Sometimes it was pleaded, That by the Original Covenants they were to have a certain Time of Warning, before they should be obliged to receive their Money, though offered them in Silver : But all signified nothing, the Chancellor over-ruled all their Pleas, and placed the Brass Money on them, not so much as allowing it to remain in the Court.

In order to make a final Extirpation of *Protestants*, they contrived and passed an Act of Attainder, by which all *Protestants*, whose Names they could find, of all Ages, Sexes and Degrees, are attainted of High Treason, and their Estates vested in the King : The Pretence of this Attainder was their being out of the Kingdom at the Time of passing the Act.

Left some should be forgotten of those that were absent, and not put into the Bill of Attainder, they contrived a general Clause in the Act of Repeal, whereby the real Estates of all who *dwelt or staid in any Place of the three Kingdoms, which did not own King James's Power, or corresponded with any such as they termed Rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting or assisting to them, from the first Day of August, 1688, are declared to be forfeited and vested in his Majesty, and that without any Office or Inquisition found thereof.* By which Clause almost every *Protestant*, that could write, in the Kingdom had forfeited his Estate ; for the Packets went from London to Dublin, and back again, constantly from August to March, 1688, and few had Friends in England, or in the North, but corresponded with them by Letters, and every such Letter is made by this Clause a Forfeiture of Estate. They had intercepted and searched every Packet that went or came, the latter

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Part of this Time, and kept vast Heaps of Letters, which were of no Consequence at all to the Government : We wondered what the Meaning of their so doing should be ; but by this Parliament we came to understand it, for now these Letters were produced as Evidences in the House of Commons, against those that appeared in Behalf of their absent Friends, or opposed the attainting of such *Protestants* as they had some Kindness for ; and they were further reserved to prove a Correspondence against the few estated Men that were in the Kingdom. Lastly, It was the End of *September*, 1688, before we heard any Thing of the Prince of *Orange's* Design to make a Descent into *England* ; and yet to have been in *England* or *Scotland*, any Time in the Month before, or to have corresponded with any there, is made Forfeiture of Estate by the Letter of this Statute.

And here I do solemnly protest, that no private Dissatisfaction, that no Ill-will to King *James's* Person, nor Prejudice against any body, has moved me to say what I have said ; but that I might vindicate my Country, by speaking Truth in a Matter that so nearly concerned us, both in our temporal and eternal Interest. And I must likewise protest before God, who will judge between us and our Enemies in this Point, that I have not aggravated the Calamities we have suffered, nor misrepresented the Proceedings against us, out of Favour or Affection to a Party ; but have rather told Things nakedly and in general, than insisted on such Particulars as might seem to serve no other Purpose, but to make our Adversaries odious.

Upon the whole, the *Irish* may justly blame themselves and their Idol, the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, as King *James* may them both, for whatever they suffered in the Issue of this Matter ; since it is apparent, that they reduced the Nation to such a Dilemma, that either they or we must be ruined. King *James*, if the Earl of *Tyrconnel* may be believed, changed his Religion on his Solicitations ; for he often bragged, that he was the
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King's Converter. He preferred the gratifying this Favourite's Ambition to the Affections of his *Protestant* Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*. He left *England* and came into *Ireland* on his Invitation; and he brought Ruin and Desolation on the Kingdom, especially on his *Protestant* Subjects, in Prosecution of the Measures laid down by him; yet so far was he in love with this Minister, that he frequently, both in his Proclamations and Acts of Parliament, ascribes the saving of *Ireland* to him; and assigned him above the Value of twenty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, to support his new Title of Duke, out of the forfeited Estates of *Protestants*, most of them condemned unheard, on public Fame only. This Person therefore was the true Enemy of King *James*; he drove his Master out of his Kingdoms, he destroyed him by his pernicious Councils, and the Kingdom of *Ireland* by his exorbitant and illegal Management; and therefore he and such other wicked Counsellors and Ministers, are only answerable for all the Mischiefs that have followed; and it is much more reasonable the Destruction should fall on them who were the Authors, than on the *Protestants* against whom they designed it.

F I N I S.

